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HARMER'S
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
SCRIPTURES.

BY
DR. ADAM CLARKE.

VOL. IV.

HARMERS

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

SCRIPTURES

BY

DR. ADAM CLARKE

VOL. IV

OBSERVATIONS
ON VARIOUS
PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE,
PLACING THEM IN A NEW LIGHT;
AND ASCERTAINING
THE MEANING OF SEVERAL, NOT DETERMINABLE BY THE
METHODS COMMONLY USED BY THE LEARNED;
ORIGINALLY COMPILED BY THE
REV. THOMAS HARMER,

FROM
RELATIONS INCIDENTALLY MENTIONED IN BOOKS OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO THE EAST.

FIFTH EDITION,
WITH MANY IMPORTANT ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

BY
ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. F.A.S.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.

Impellimur autem Naturâ, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque
docendo,
.... Itaque non facile est invenire, qui quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.
Cic. de Fin. lib. iii.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON AND CO. FINSBURY-SQUARE; AND
W. BAYNES, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1816.



Printed by J. and T. Clarke, 38, St. John's Square, London.

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OBSERVATIONS
ON
DIVERS PASSAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING EGYPT, THE ADJOINING WILDERNESS,
AND THE RED SEA.

OBSERVATION XIV.

Continued from the preceding Volume.

Of the Canals in Egypt.

SOME of these canals, if we may believe Maillet,* were a hundred feet broad, and twenty deep; and made some considerable districts absolutely barren, that would otherwise have been like the garden of the Lord.†

Other countries had in like manner watering canals, though perhaps none of such enormous

* Lett. ii. p. 46.

† William, Archbishop of Tyre, gives a like account. Gesta Dei, p. 969.

dimensions.* Nor was Judea a stranger to them : the waters of the fountain of Elisha dividing themselves, as Maundrell observed,† into several small streams, and so rendering all the field between it and Jericho exceedingly fruitful ; which small streams are without doubt the effect of art, it not being natural for a spring to make itself such a number of channels.

To these canals, and the fertility produced by them in these countries, Solomon, I imagine, refers in Prov. xxi. 1., where he says, *The king's heart is in the hand of the LORD; as the rivers of water, (or as watering canals,) he turneth it whithersoever he will.* Commentators suppose that this marks out the power of the great LORD of lords over the heart of princes. It does so undoubtedly : but though they have given us the thought in general, I do not remember to have met with any that have given us the energy of it, which seems to be this, “ Which way soever the heart of a king turneth, it conveys riches, just as a watering canal doth plenty ; and let it be remembered, that the LORD turns it whithersoever he will, and makes whom he pleases the favourite of princes.”

Northern readers have often, I dare say, wondered in themselves that the Divine energy, upon the minds of men, which is apparently intended by the words, should be represented by a man's turning a stream of water whither he pleases ; which appears to them a work of difficulty, such

* Damascus had, see Maundrell, p. 121---123. + P. 80.

difficulty that it is not often attempted in their countries. They therefore are ready to be surprised, that some allusion containing the idea of greater ease was not used : but to an original imagination the metaphor will appear strong, but in all respects just, as conveying the thought of the ease with which the power of God operates on the hearts of princes, and of the enriching effects of royal favour (which is elsewhere compared to a cloud of the latter rain,) adding farther prosperity to those that are in affluent circumstances, and setting beggars among princes, just like those canals which are so common in these countries, which add very much to the fertility of a rich soil, and sometimes turn a desert into a paradise. So the province of Faoume or Fioum, the richest province in all Egypt, owes all its fertility, according to Maillet,* to a canal made by art in very ancient times, and would without it have been absolutely barren, as the want of keeping this canal with sufficient care has very much injured it.

OBSERVATION XV.

Of the Vines, Sycamores, Date-trees, &c. of Egypt.

MAILLET says, the best vines of Egypt† grow in this province ; not that Egypt is a vine country, or ever was ; so far from it, that they were and

* Lett. viii. p. 293, &c. † Voy. la dernière citation.

still are forced to use a sort of beer for common drink,* made of barley and some intoxicating drug. This country not producing, like other countries in the East, wine in such quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the wants of the inhabitants ; it had, however, many vines.

We may therefore perhaps wonder, that their vines should have been considered by the Psalmist so important as to be singled out, along with their sycamores, from their other trees, in his account of the destruction made among them by the hail, *Psa. xxviii. 47.*, and may fancy there must have been other trees of much more consequence to them, and in particular the date, which Maillet affirms to be the most esteemed at this time in Egypt, on account of its profitableness.†

But it ought to be remembered that many trees, which are now found in Egypt, might not have been introduced in those times. Dr. Pococke supposes, that very few of the present Egyptian trees are natives;‡ the sycamore and the vine might therefore at that time be very well thought the most valuable they had.

Their sycamores were undoubtedly very important to them, and their destruction a heavy loss. The ancient Egyptian coffins were made of this kind of wood, as are the modern barques;§ and, consequently, we may believe their ancient

* Shaw, p. 407, Maillet, Lett. xi. p. 111. Pococke, Vol. I. p. 182.

† Lett. ix. p. 16.

‡ Vol. I. p. 205.

§ Norden, Part II. p. 177.

ones, of which they have such numbers on the Nile, and must always have stood in great need of multitudes, on account of the nature of their country. But besides these uses, they produce a sort of fig, upon which, Norden tells us,* the people for the greater part live ; thinking themselves well regaled when they have a piece of bread, a couple of sycamore-figs, and a pitcher filled with water from the Nile.†

A fondness for the sycamore-fruit is not peculiar to Egyptians : Hasselquist, the Swedish traveller, was greatly pleased with it ; for having said that the fruit was soft, watery, somewhat sweet, with something of an aromatic taste, he adds, “ After I once had tasted it, I could scarcely refrain from eating : and if I had thought the fresh fruit wholesome, I should certainly have eaten a great deal of it.”‡ No wonder then that David

* Part 1. p. 79, 80.

† Hasselquist tells us, that the sycamore buds in the latter end of March, and the fruit ripens in the beginning of June ; and that it is wounded or cut by the inhabitants at the time it buds, as without this precaution, they say, it will not bear fruit, p. 261. Is it not this operation that Amos refers to, in those words which we translate, “ Was a gatherer of sycamore-fruit ? ” The Septuagint seem to refer it to something done to the fruit, to hasten its ripening, it is supposed : but as the word certainly signifies sycamore-trees elsewhere, every where else, I think ; as there is a sort of scarification, or something of that kind, practised upon the tree itself, according to Hasselquist ; may not the words at least as well be understood to mean this ? However, if the words are rendered *a sycamore-tree dresser*, it would include both senses, and be preferable, sure, to our present translation.

‡ P. 261.

had an officer to look after these trees, and that they and olive-trees should be put jointly under his inspection, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. When this passage describes them as growing in the low plains, it reminds us of what Hasselquist tells us, of their growing at present in the plains and fields of Lower Egypt, where he found them very common.* He found many olive-trees growing in a like situation, in three places, and says, "We had fine vales, abounding with olive-trees," speaking of the road between Jaffa and Rama.

If their vines too were as useful then as they are now, the loss of them was very great. Their fruit serves for a considerable part of the entertainments they give their friends: so Norden was treated by the Aga of Essuaen with coffee, and some bunches of grapes of an excellent taste.† If we may believe Maillet, they make still more of the leaves of their vines than they do of their fruit, using them, when young, prodigiously: for minced meat being one great part of their diet, they wrap it up in little parcels in vine-leaves; and laying thus leaf upon leaf, they season it after their mode, and so cook it, and make of it a most exquisite sort of food, and one of the most delicious that comes upon their tables.‡ But besides these uses, they make some wine, which, though it is now made in very small quantities, as it is also in other Mohammedan countries, yet was anciently much more plentiful, and even exported: for though Egypt never produced wine in such quanti-

* P. 120.

† Part II. p. 112.

‡ Lett. ix. p. 14.

ties as to be tolerably proportionate to the number of its inhabitants, as in other countries; yet they made so much, and that so delicious, as that it was carried to Rome, and so much drank there, as to be very well known in that seat of luxury, insomuch that Maillet, who never forgets any of the excellencies of this country, tells us, it was the third in esteem of their wines.* It was made then without doubt,† and in considerable quantities, for the use of Pharaoh and of his court, who probably could procure no such wine from abroad: nor were acquainted with such liquors as the great now drink in Egypt: and consequently the loss of their vines must have been considerable.

As to the date-trees, which are said to be the most important now of any to the Egyptians, and which are mentioned neither in this Psalm, nor the cvth, may we not suppose that if they were then in Egypt, which is the most probable, the storm of hail did not reach them? The trees, it is certain, that produce the best dates in Egypt, grow in the deserts,‡ where nothing else grows, and there they are in great numbers; and as hail-storms are not wont to extend very far, so there is no reason in the world to suppose this storm reached to those deserts. It was sufficient if it fell with severity before the eyes of Pharaoh, and demolished the country that was cultivated, and particularly that part that was near to him: agreeably to which we may observe, that the vineyards

* Lett. viii. p. 294.

† Gen. xl. 9, &c.

‡ Maillet, Lett. viii. p. 295.

of Egypt were in the country of Fioum,* which, according to William of Tyre, is but one day's journey from Cairo ; and consequently less from Memphis,† the old royal city, Memphis and Fioum lying both South-west from Cairo. As for the sycamore-trees, Dr. Pococke tells us,‡ they are planted near villages, especially about Cairo, and consequently not far from Memphis.

Upon the whole, it is no wonder that we have no account of any damage done to their date-trees, and that their sycamores and their vines are distinguished from their other trees, in the Mosaic history of this desolation.

OBSERVATION XVI.

Of the Grapes of Egypt and Canaan.

THE grapes of Egypt are much smaller than those that grow in the Holy Land.

Dandini, though an Italian, seems to have been surprised at the extraordinary size of the grapes of Mount Libanus. They use no props, he tells us, to support the trees, but let them creep along the earth ; the wine produced from them is delicate, and exceeding pleasant ; it is a very surprising thing to see the bigness of the grape, which is equal to a prune ; and that he easily comprehended, at seeing them, why the Hebrews had so

* Meme page.

† Gesta Dei, &c. p. 964.

‡ Vol. I. p. 205.

great a desire to taste them, and that they pushed forwards with so much passion the conquest of the Land of Promise, after they had seen the grapes which the spies of Joshua brought back from the neighbouring countries.*

It is the distinguishing manner in which the grapes are spoken of in the thirteenth of Numbers, and the pains they took to bring a whole cluster to the camp, by hanging it on a staff borne by two men, that demonstrates the particular value the spies put on this kind of fruit, produced in the Holy Land, rather than their hastening to subdue the country; which does not very well agree with the account that is given us of the temper Israel was in at the return of the spies.

Nor is it any wonder the Israelites, born in the land of Egypt, were so extremely struck with the grapes of Canaan, since those of Egypt, though it is so fertile a country, are very small. The setting a passage of Norden in contrast with Dandini's account, will illustrate this circumstance extremely: "Waiting on a Turkish Aga in Upper Egypt," Norden says, "the Aga ordered coffee to be served, and regaled me with some bunches of grapes which were of an excellent taste, but very small."†

D'Herbelot, in giving an account of the tragical death of one of the women of the Khalif Jezid, from a Persian historian, takes notice of the large-

* Chap. 10. p. 43.

† Vol. II. p. 112.

ness of the grapes of Palestine in like manner.* As the story is memorable, it shall be given in a note below. The Egyptian Israelites must have been pleased with the grapes of Eshcol : they that before had only seen very small bunches.

OBSERVATION XVII.

A double Seed-time and Harvest in Egypt.

DR. Pococke has made a remark, which I have observed in no other traveller,† and that is, that there is a double seed-time and harvest in Egypt : rice, Indian wheat, and another sort that produces a large cane, and has an ear like millet, (which they call the corn of Damascus, and, in Italian, *surgo rosso*,) being sown and reaped at a very different time from wheat, (which in that coun-

* P. 487. Jezid, says the historian Khondemir, being in Palestine, which they call the country of Jordan, and diverting himself in a garden with one of his women, whom he loved to madness, he was presented with a collation of the most excellent fruits of the country. During this little repast he took a grape, which he threw to his mistress; she took it, and put it into her mouth to eat it; but the grape being very large, such as this country produces, getting down her throat, stopped her breath, and she was choaked in an instant.

† It is to be met with in Thomson's Travels, Vol. III. p. 308, 309; but it is supposed there really was no such traveller, and that the book was a mere compilation from others.

-try, it seems, is all bearded,) barley, and flax. "The first," he says,* "are sown in March, before the Nile overflows the lands, and reaped about October; whereas the wheat and barley are sown in November and December, as soon as the Nile is gone off; and they are reaped before May."†

Dr Shaw seems not to have been aware of this, for he supposes that rice was sown at the same time with flax, wheat, and barley;‡ yet it seems natural, that as wheat and barley are sown as soon as the inundation is over, and reaped before it returns, so likewise that those sorts of grain that require much water should be sown before it begins, and be reaped just as it finishes. And though I have met with no direct observation of this kind,§ yet Norden confirms one part of it: for he tells us, that he saw a great plain covered with Turkey wheat the twentieth of November, which began to be ripe; and that he saw the Arabs cutting their harvest in a neighbouring plain the twenty-ninth of that month.||

* The text says, July; but it appears, from the errata, March was the month he intended.

† Vol. I. p. 204.

‡ P. 406, 407.

§ Pococke's account has since been confirmed by Hasselquist, who found the rice, at Assotta, about three inches high, the thirtieth of May N. S. p. 54. He indeed tells us, it had been sown but eight days before; but this must certainly have been a mistake; perhaps it should have been eight weeks. He elsewhere mentions the same month that Pococke does, as the time for reaping it, that of October.

|| Part. II. p. 17, and p. 36.

If then this is fact, it will explain very determinately what is meant by the wheat and rye's being dark, or hidden, at the time of the plague of hail, Exod. ix. 32.; for it must mean, that they were sown, but not come up, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Shaw, who supposes that the expression imports, that they were of a dark green, and consequently yielded without hurt, while the barley and the flax, being more forward, were destroyed.

This will shew also what the wheat was that, being hidden in the earth, escaped: it was Indian wheat, or *surgo rosso*, which sorts of wheat with the rye* escaped; while the barley, and wheat bearded like barley, and the flax, were smitten.

* Or rice, according to Dr. Shaw, p. 407. Hasselquist however makes no doubt, but that the Egyptians learned the cultivation of rice under the Khalifs, at which time, he says, many useful plants were brought over the Red Sea to Egypt, which now grow spontaneously there, and enrich the country, p. 109, 110. This may be left to the curious to examine, it being of no consequence to my design here to examine, whether rice, or the corn of Damascus, or some other plant of importance to human life, was meant; it being sufficient to observe, that some sorts of farinaceous plants were then but just sown, while others were drawing to maturity.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

Of the Time of Harvest in Egypt.

THE translation the Septuagint have given of Prov. x. 5., differs from the Hebrew, and is by no means so natural, considered as a proverbial saying ; but gives us some information concerning the weather of one particular part of the year; but whether of the weather as it is, in common, in Judea, or whether only as it is in Egypt, may justly be questioned.

That translation is, “ A wise son is saved from the heat ; but a son that observes not rules in harvest is struck with a corrupting (or destroying) wind.”

This supposes that the time of harvest was a time of great heat ; that this heat, if not guarded against by observing the rules of prudence, might be deadly ; that the heat was occasioned by a destructive wind, which produced at least similar effects to those of the Sumyel, which is so fatal in the Eastern deserts, for it was of the corrupting kind.

This agrees very well with the weather in Egypt, for Maillet in one place tells us, the harvest there is in the latter end of April, or the first days of May ;* and in another letter he describes the two months of April and May as extremely

* Lett. ix. p. 7.

hot,* which induces the people of Egypt in these months to eat no meat, but to live on fish, which aversion to flesh meats is owing to the winds from the south, he makes no doubt, which winds never fail to blow when the Nile begins to rise, which, he tells us, begins ordinarily to rise the last days of the month of April, and the beginning of May,† consequently in the time of harvest in that country.

That the heat in harvest is sometimes deadly in Judea, we are informed in the Scriptures.‡ An apocryphal writer supposes the same thing:§ but whether this heat in harvest is brought by southerly winds, and whether it happens as generally in Egypt, is a matter not yet, that I know of, ascertained. Nor are we informed, as to either countries, how far the same symptoms appear, in those that perish through the heat there, that are found in those that are killed by the Sumyel, the hot pestilential wind in the deserts.

We are also left to guess at the precautions used by those that gathered in the harvest in inhabited countries; I say inhabited countries, for we have some account of the methods made use of in the deserts, to guard against being struck by those deadly winds, and to recover those that are injured by them, but not so as to be irrecoverably lost.||

* Lett. xi. p. 109, 110.

† Let. ii. p. 56.

‡ 2 Kings iv. 18—20.

§ Judith viii. 3.

|| Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, p. 8.

OBSERVATION XIX.

Of the Pestilential Winds in Egypt.

COMMENTATORS have supposed, that the fire of JEHOVAH that burned among the Israelites in the Wilderness, of which we have an account, in Numb. xi. 1., meant their being destroyed by lightning; or a miraculous breaking forth of fire from the cloud, which marked out the presence of God among them:* but perhaps it may be as natural to explain it, of the deadly fiery wind which sometimes prevails in those Eastern deserts.

It is said to appear in the deserts which border on the Tigris;† in the great desert between Bus-sora and Aleppo;‡ and on the borders of the Persian gulf:§ but Maillet mentions its being felt also in the desert between Egypt and Mecca, in part of which Israel wandered forty years.

For speaking of the caravan of pilgrims that goes annually from Egypt to Mecca,|| he says, “During the whole summer, a very fresh northerly wind reigns in this climate, which very much tempers the heat there. To take the advantage of it, they raise up the side of the tent which is exposed to the wind much higher than the opposite side, so

* See Bp. Patrick on the place.

† Ann. Reg. 1766. Part II. p. 121.

‡ Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 7, 8.

§ Chardin, Tome II. p. 2.

|| Lett. xiv. p. 232.

that being engulfed, and passing through the tent with quickness, it not only refreshes the people that repose themselves there, but also certain vessels which are suspended in the tents, and filled with water, which in an instant, by being treated in this manner, contract an agreeable freshness. But if the North wind happens to fail, and that from the South comes in its place, which however is rather uncommon, then the whole caravan is so sickly and exhausted, that 300 or 400 persons are wont to lose their lives. Even greater numbers, as for 1500, of whom the greatest part are stifled on the spot, by the fire and dust of which this fatal wind seems to be composed.”*

Sir John Chardin describes this wind “as making a great hissing noise, says that it appears red and fiery,† and kills those it strikes by a kind of stifling them, especially when it happens in the day-time.”‡

If a wind of this description killed any member of the Israelites, would it be any wonder that it should have been called the *fire of the Lord*? and the place, from such an event, have been named *Taberah*, or a burning? And would not the account that this sort of fire was quenched, or, as it is translated in the margin, *sunk*, better agree with such a wind than with lightning?

I have, in a preceding volume, taken notice of the heat the South wind occasions in Judea, but

* Out of perhaps 40 or 50,000 people that compose the caravan, p. 228.

† Rouge et enflammé.

‡ Tome II. p. 9.

the Sumyel does not appear to have been felt there, any more than that at Aleppo, unless we suppose the destruction of Sennacherib's army was by such a wind, directed by an angel,

Who, glad th' Almighty's orders to perform,
Rode in the whirlwind.—

But this passage in Numbers, relating to Israel in the Wilderness, may be thought more plainly to point out this deadly wind.

OBSERVATION XX.

Of the Road through the Desert from Egypt to Judea.

THE history of the Revolt of Ali Bey tells us,* that when his general and brother-in-law (Abudahap) engaged in designs against him, which ended in Ali's ruin and death, he did not march from the Holy Land to Egypt by the common road, but directed his course, with his army, by the desert between the Red Sea and Egypt, and came by that route into Upper Egypt, and going from thence, drove Ali from Egypt into the Holy Land, to his friend there the Arab Sheikh Daher. This mode of proceeding reminds us of that passage of the book of Exodus, in which we are told, *When Pharaoh had let the people go, that*

* P. 114.

*God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near: for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent, when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.**

It seems very improbable, from Irwin's account of his passing through the Egyptian desert, from Ghinnah, in Upper Egypt, to Cairo, that an army could be conducted through this wilderness without the greatest difficulties, or that any general should think of taking such a route; yet it seems Abudahap attempted it, and succeeded in his project. How many days were spent in the march we are not told; but Irwin was fifteen days, or part of sixteen, only in passing from Ghinnah to Cairo, according to his relation.

As to the more common roads from Egypt to Judea: Thevenot travelled in eleven or twelve days from Cairo to Gaza, which was the way by the land of the Philistines, notwithstanding several stops by the way.† Ali Bey, when he marched in a hurry from Cairo to Ptolemais, went from Cairo to Hanneunus, as the writer of his history tells us, in part of four days, which town, he informs us, is not twenty miles short of Gaza.‡ And if we deduct two days and a half that were trifled away by Thevenot, we shall find that he was about eight days in travelling to the

* Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

† Travels, Part i. Book ii. ch. 35.

‡ P. 119, setting out in the evening of April 12, and arriving at Hanneunus the 15th.

town where Ali Bey stopped, not twenty miles short of Gaza.

If we pursue a road farther distant from the sea-coast, and more into the desert, to Hebron, we shall find that Dr. Shaw reckons* but seven stations, or eight days' journey,† of the great Mohammedan caravan from Cairo to a place called Ally. From which place, Wortley Montague tells us, it is but six days' journey to Jerusalem.‡ According to this way of computation, it is but fourteen days' journey from Cairo to Jerusalem, in the way of the desert and Hebron, by Ally, or Sheikh Ali, which seems too not the nearest way to Hebron.

It would not, probably, be above a day or two more to go from Cairo, round the South end of the Dead Sea, and so along its Eastern side to Jordan, since Joseph, when he carried his father's corpse to be interred in Hebron, went this still more round-about way, doubtless on account of some conveniences, with which we are not well acquainted. Gen. chap. l. ver. 7—13.

Moses then might have been supposed by the Israelites, when he proposed to them not to go by the way of the land of the Philistines, but more through the desert, not to design a journey of the length of more than twenty days, for which a suf-

* P. 477.

† According to the account of Thevenot, (Part i. Book ii. ch. 17,) who tells us the caravan stops a day at *Kalaat el Nahhal*, or, as Shaw writes the name, *Callah Nahhar*.

‡ Phil. Trans. Vol. LVI. p. 47.

ficient quantity of corn and water might be carried without very much difficulty. A journey which the patriarch Joseph had before taken with a very great company :* the present terror of the Egyptians operating as powerfully, as the authority of Joseph did then. And accordingly, though they murmured for water before, they did not murmur for bread, till they came into the wilderness of Sin, on the 15th day of the second month after their departure from Egypt.† Which shews they had stocked themselves with a month's provision of corn for their journey, which now accordingly began to fail.‡ But Moses had other views, and depended on a Divine power to supply all their wants ; and, it seems, it was thought proper to try their faith in that power, and to illustrate the care of God over that nation, through all after generations, by what was designed to be done in the wilderness. Not to mention, that infinite wisdom thought it requisite that a moveable temple should be built in the desert, before their entering into the land of the Canaanites, promised their forefathers, lest they should be seduced to worship in their temples, as they dwelt in their private houses, which was allowed them, Deut. vi. 10, 11., xix. 1. This took up something more than a year ; for when they departed from Sinai towards

* Gen. l. 9.

† Exod. xvi. 1, 2, 3.

‡ The numerous Mohammedan caravans, from Cairo to Mecca, are forty days in going, and as much in returning, and carry almost all their food with them, (and much of their water,) to last them thither, and back again.

the promised country, it was the 20th day of the second month, in the second year of their coming out of Egypt, Numb. x. 11, 12, 13., soon after which the spies were sent to search out the country to which they were to go.

The way of the desert then, though less direct, and which consequently would take up more time, was not thought at that time to be totally impracticable; and, indeed, had been proved not to be so by Joseph.

OBSERVATION XXI.

The Exposure of Ishmael considered.

THE circumstances of Ishmael's being conducted to a shrub, when its faintness from the heat, and want of water, in the Wilderness of Beersheba, so increased that he could not proceed in his journey towards Egypt; and Hagar's despair of obtaining water time enough to save his life, are natural;* though it may not be amiss to take notice of some things relating to this matter, which may seem to want a little explanation.

Pitts, in the account he gives of his return from Mecca, tells us, "'Tis thirty-seven days' journey from Mecca to Cairo....in all this way there is scarcely any green thing to be met with, nor beast nor fowl to be seen or heard, nothing but sand and stones, excepting one place, which

* Mentioned Gen. xxi.

we passed by night ; I suppose it was some village, where were some trees, and, as we thought, gardens.”*

But this is to be understood to be only comparatively speaking ; if otherwise, it is certain that many other parts, of that widely extended desert, are not so entirely destitute of vegetables, as that part of it through which the road runs that leads to Mecca. Irwin mentions many bushes or low trees on the western side of this mighty desert, between the Red Sea and the Nile, through which he passed a few years ago.† In p. 296, he speaks of numerous thorn-trees in full blossom and fragrance. In p. 320, he speaks again of thorn-trees, and expressly says, they were large enough to throw a shade ; and, it seems, they were so numerous as to perfume the air as they passed, from the snowy blossoms that whitened all the vale. He mentions, in other places, rosemary-bushes, and shrubs of uncommon fragrance, perhaps still without a name.

Egmont and Heyman, in some pages, complain‡ of the extreme barrenness of some part of the Wilderness between Cairo and Mount Sinai ; but, in some of the succeeding pages, they speak of *many trees*, which made the valley of Corondel appear like a terrestrial paradise, in comparison of the barren wastes they had a little before travelled over.§ They describe the vale of Nasb, presently after,|| as very pleasant and full of trees : and in the same

* P. 159. † P. 308, 316. ‡ Vol. II. p. 146, 147.

§ P. 151. || P. 152.

page mention a place where was plenty of herb-
age, and many palm-trees, which formed a beautiful scene. They then speak of an old city called Pharan ;* and presently after† we are told of desolate mountains and barren rocks, but intermixed with the pleasant valleys of Debabe, Sedre, Barak, and Baraha, full of odoriferous plants, where they found also several spiniferous trees, which exudated a gum resembling that of the cherry-tree.

There is then nothing improbable in the supposition we meet with here, that there were some shrubs in that part of the Wilderness where Hagar wandered with her son,‡ she going towards Paran, in which part of the wilderness it was that he fixed his dwelling, Gen. xxi. 21. It was in the wilderness, a barren and badly inhabited country, but not absolutely without trees, that Ishmael was near losing his life from thirst.

That he should, when just ready to faint, and unable to proceed onward in his journey, desire to lie down under some tree, where he might be in the shade, was quite natural : in such a situation Thevenot fell in with a poor Arab, in this Wilderness, just ready to expire. “ Passing by the side of a bush,” says this writer, “ we heard a voice that called to us; and, being come to the place, we found a poor languishing Arab, who told us that he had not eaten a bit for five days. We gave him some victuals and drink with a provision of bread for two days more, and so went on our way.”§

* P. 152.

† Gen. xxi. 15.

† P. 153.

§ Part I. p. 164.

Ishmael was, without debate, fourteen years old when Isaac was born, (compare Gen. xvi. 16., with chap. xxi. 5.,) and probably seventeen when Isaac was weaned, for it was anciently the custom in these countries to suckle children till they were three years old;* and it still continues so.† The translation then of the Septuagint is very amazing; for, instead of representing Abraham as giving Hagar bread, and a skin bottle of water, and putting them upon Hagar's shoulder, that version represents Abraham as putting his son Ishmael on the shoulders of his mother.‡ How droll the representation! Young children indeed are wont to be carried so; but how ridiculous to describe a youth of seventeen, or even fourteen, as riding upon his mother's shoulders, when sent upon a journey into the Wilderness, and she loaded at the same time with the provisions. Yet, unnatural and odd as this representation is, our version approaches too near to it, when it describes Hagar as *casting* the youth under one of the shrubs: which term agrees well enough with the getting rid of a half-grown man from her shoulders, but by no means with the maternal affectionate letting go her hold of him, when she found he could go no farther, and desired to lie down and die under that bush: for that undoubtedly was the

* 2 Maccabees vii. 27; with which agrees the account given of Samuel, and other sucking children, in the Scriptures.

† Russell's Descript. of Aleppo, Vol. I. p. 303.

‡ Ἀνεση δε Ἀβρααμ το πρῶν, καὶ ἐλαβεν ἄρτους καὶ ἀσκὸν ὕδατος, καὶ ἔδωκε τῇ Ἀγάρ· καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον αὐτῆς τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτήν.

idea of the sacred writer ; she left off supporting him, and let him gently drop on the ground, where he desired to lie. In a succeeding verse* the angel of the LORD bade her lift up Ishmael, and hold him in her hand—support him under his extreme weakness. She had doubtless done this before ; and her quitting her hold, upon his lying down, is the meaning of the word שָׁלַךְ *shalak*, translated *casting*, that word sometimes indeed signifying a sudden and rather violent quitting hold of a thing, but at other times a parting with it in a gentle manner.

It may also be wondered at, how Hagar came to give way to despair at that time, as she certainly did ; for since there were several shrubs in that place, we may suppose it was a sure indication of water, and that therefore maternal anxiety would rather have engaged her to endeavour to find out the spring which gave this spot its verdure. But it is to be remembered, that though Irwin found many shrubs in that part of the wilderness through which he travelled, yet the fountains or wells there were by no means equal in number to the spots of ground covered with shrubs, a latent moisture in the earth favouring their growth, where there were no streams of water above ground : she might therefore, having found her preceding searches vain, very naturally be supposed to have given up all hope of relief, when the angel made her observe where there was water to be found, upon drinking which Ishmael revived.

* Ver. 18.

OBSERVATION XXII.

Of the Quadrupeds that inhabited the Deserts through which Israel passed, on their Journey to the promised Land.

DESOLATE as the desert is through which Israel marched, in their way from Egypt to Canaan, yet it seems some creatures resided in it fit for food, and that they sometimes were so successful as to take some of them, and regale themselves on their flesh.

I do not well know, how else to account for the explanatory clause in the close of Deut. xii. 15., *The unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roe-buck, and as of the hart*: which is again repeated, verse 22.

They were commanded to offer their burnt-offerings, and to perform some other ceremonies of their law, when they came into the land promised to their fathers, only in that place which God should choose in one of their tribes, for those purposes. But they might notwithstanding kill and eat flesh in all their places of abode whatsoever they had a mind for, according as their circumstances would allow, of which the unclean as well as the clean might eat, as they did in the case of the roe-buck and the hart. That is the purport of part of that paragraph: which is again repeated, in many of its circumstances, in the latter

part of the chapter; and again in the close of the xvth, particularly expressing, in all the three places, that the unclean as well as the clean might partake of those repasts, as they did of the roe-buck and the hart.

When they were in the Wilderness, no beasts, that were such as they might sacrifice, might at all be killed but at the sanctuary; consequently, according to the laws then introduced by Moses, none might eat of them but those that were clean. (See Lev. vii. 20, 21.) But it was a decided case, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of such wild animals as the law allowed to be eaten at all; and, consequently, in this place, Deut. xii., Moses declared the unclean as well as the clean might, in the same manner, eat of such animals as were proper for sacrifice, but were not killed for sacred purposes, but for food. But it could hardly have been a decided case, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of such wild animals as Moses there specifies, *after* he had published his laws in the Wilderness, and before their entering into Canaan, but upon the supposition that they had caught some of them in the Wilderness, that Moses had declared the unclean might eat of them as well as the clean, and that these captures had happened so frequently, that the decision was very well known among the Israelites at the time of the publishing the book of Deuteronomy, which was in the last year of their wandering in those deserts.

The ציבי *tzebee*, and the איל *ayal*, which are the words translated the *roe-buck* and the *hart*, are

supposed, by Dr. Shaw,* to signify the antelope, and the hart or deer.

He has given very satisfactory reasons to prove that the first signified the antelope. Now this animal has been seen, from time to time of late days, in the Wilderness in which Israël so long sojourned. Dr. Shaw assures us he himself saw it there; adding that it was the only quadruped that fell under his observation in those deserts.† Egmont and Heyman, in ascending an hill not far from the convent of Mount Sinai, saw some antelopes, which at sight of them ran off with great swiftness:‡ and in another part of those Travels we are told,§ that the mountains of those deserts “every where abound with partridges, and likewise with antelopes, by the Arabians called gazels.” Thevenot also saw, on the hills of this desert, a great many of these antelopes, and nothing else.||

As there are such numbers of these animals in this desert, it is no wonder that the Israelites should endeavour to catch them for food, as they had only manna, which, howsoever delicious in itself, could not remove their desire to eat flesh. It is even now common for large caravans, which stock themselves with a variety of other provisions, to endeavour to catch such animals as they meet with in their journeys, that are fit for food, and often succeed in it.

Plaistead, who travelled from Busserah to Aleppo,

* P. 414. + P. 459. † Vol. II. p. 179.

§ P. 171, 172. || Part 1. p. 164.

through another vast desert which separates those two places, in a caravan consisting of a thousand, or eleven hundred people, tells us, that their Arabs endeavoured to kill the hares, which they met with there in great numbers, with the bludgeons used by them in driving the camels; and sometimes they would kill twenty or thirty in a day.* And elsewhere, in giving instructions concerning the utensils and provisions proper to be carried in a journey through this desert, he says, onions should never be forgotten, because you will meet with hares almost every day.† So that there appears to have been some dependence on animals that might be expected to be killed by them in their passage. This caravan, he farther tells us, pursued an ostrich, which crossed upon them to the southward, though it escaped them; however, that they killed an antelope.‡ According to Thevenot, in the passage I before cited, hares and ostriches are also found in the deserts going to Mount Sinai; but the Israelites were not allowed to eat hares by their law.§ But as Plaistead's companions killed an antelope, and antelopes abound in those deserts, it is no wonder that it was a decided case among the Jews, while in the Wilderness, that the unclean, as well as the clean, might eat of their flesh.— Dr. Shaw supposes the *ayal* means one of the deer-kind;|| and tells us, from Strabo, that the wild beeve, or bubalus, or *bekker el wash*, frequent the more solitary parts of those countries no

* Journal, p. 73, 74.

† P. 21.

‡ P. 37.

§ Lev. xi. 6., Deut. xiv. 7.

|| P. 414, 415.

less than the antelope, and is equally gregarious ; but none of the afore-mentioned travellers, speak of any of these wild creatures as seen by them in those deserts, much less as caught by them as they journeyed.

Irwin, however, in passing of late through the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea, which communicate with those deserts in which Israel wandered forty years, by a neck of land which lies between Suez and the Mediterranean, and seem to be of the same general nature, mentions several deer which he saw in those deserts of Upper Egypt, and the footsteps of more ;* besides which he saw the print of the feet of another animal there, which he took to be the elk, from the size of the hoof, but which the Arabs, who were his guides, called a mountain-sheep.† They saw, it seems, on all sides, in that place, the fresh slot of deer, and of that other creature which he took to be an elk, and consequently of a larger size than the deer.‡ It is to be regretted that we cannot determine, from his description, what this large animal was, and perhaps might have been in some doubt, whether, as to the others, he meant deer, in the common sense of that word, or antelopes, had he not expressly mentioned their firing at a buck, p. 297. But it is however evident there were two different kinds of beasts, if not three, in

* P. 294, 297, 311, 312, &c. † P. 319.

‡ See Shaw, p. 414, 415, who call such a kind of animal the bubalus, or wild beeve.

those deserts, to which, or some of which, Moses referred here.

It may be amusing to add, that, besides these animals, Irwin saw, in these deserts of Thebais, partridges,* quails,† hares,‡ and a snake which the Arabs said was poisonous, though he was inclined to a contrary opinion.§

OBSERVATION XXIII.

Of the Birds found in the same Desert.

WHEN Moses, upon the approach of Israel to the land of Canaan, prohibited their taking any bird along with their eggs, or their young, on which they might find them sitting, Deut. xxii. 6.,|| whether their nests were on the ground or in a tree; and mentioned nothing of this sort, so far as appears in Sacred Writ, before their drawing to the borders of the land they were to inherit: it cannot but be natural to enquire, wherein consisted the propriety both of such a prohibition then, and of the omitting to mention it before that time.

It seems that ostriches,¶ partridges,** quails,††

* Irwin, p. 305. † P. 305—323. ‡ P. 320—323.

§ P. 319.

|| Which book of Moses, delivered in the fortieth year of their abode in the Wilderness, contains the later laws.

¶ Thevenot, p. 164; Shaw, p. 449.

** Egmont and Heyman, Vol. II. p. 171 and 172; they ascribe to a partridge what belongs to a quail, according to Thevenot, p. 168.

†† Thevenot, p. 168; so Irwin found many quails in the deserts of Thebais.

doves,* (besides some unclean birds,)+ are found in those deserts through which Israel passed; they are now all used for food. Might they not be tempted then to take them, if they found them sitting on their eggs or young? If they were, how came the prohibition not to have been earlier given?

That partridges, quails, &c. are good for food, is sufficiently known; it may be doubted of the ostrich, for which reason I would here set down a passage of Thevenot. "When they would catch ostriches, an Arab pursues them on horseback, at first gently, and they run away in the same manner, but still tiring a little. After two or three hours' time, he rides faster; and then, when he sees his fowl almost spent, he puts on to a speed; and having taken and killed it, he makes a hole in the throat of it; and then having tied straight the neck under the hole, three or four of them take hold of it, and for some time toss and shake it from side to side, just as one would rinse and wash a barrel: when they think it is enough shaken, they untie the throat of it, and then a great deal of *mantegue*, or a kind of butter, comes running out at the holes, insomuch that they say some of them will yield above 20lb. weight of that stuff; for by that shaking, all the flesh of the creature is dissolved into mantegue, nothing remaining but skin and bones. This would have seemed fabulous to me,

* Seen by Shaw, p. 449.

† The *achbobba* in particular, which feed on carrion like ravens, Shaw, p. 449.

if several Barbary men had not assured me of it. They say that this mantegue is a very delicious food, but very apt to cause a looseness.”*

As the ostrich is good for food ; so also, it seems, are its eggs:† to say nothing of their being objects of attention, as being used much in the East, by way of ornament, for they are hung up in their places of public worship, along with many lamps, of which we have many instances.‡ If neither their feathers, nor egg-shells, were in use then, as they both are now in the East ; yet their use for food can hardly be supposed to be unknown. Why then was it not forbidden to Israel, while in the Wilderness, to take an old bird with its eggs or young, as it was afterwards ?

The answer is easy with respect to the ostrich, since it is in no danger of being taken with its eggs, it being a bird that deposits its eggs in the sand, and leaves them to be hatched by the heat of the ground alone, without incubation, as we learn from Job xxxix. 13., &c.

The other birds that are found in the deserts there, sit indeed on their eggs ; but they were too few, perhaps, to require a law, and of too wild

* P. 164, 165.

† Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art. Struthio.

‡ Pococke's Trav. Vol. I. p. 31. Dr. Richard Chandler, in his Travels in Asia Minor, perhaps was mistaken when he supposed, that the Turkish mosque at Magnesia was ornamented with lamps pendent from the ceiling, intermixed with *balls* of polished *ivory*, p. 267. *Ostrich eggs* might easily be mistaken for *ivory balls* ; if not, they might be used as a succedaneum.

and shy a disposition, to run any considerable risque of being taken by those that might find their nests; or had their nests out of reach, as the dove, which builds in hollow places of the rocks, when in a wild state,* not to say the old ones are not fit to eat, being too tough to be proper for food.

This may sufficiently account for the silence of Moses on this point, in the first years of their wandering in the desert. But what occasion, it may be asked, was there to mention it at all? What eggs were they likely to meet with, after their residing in Canaan, of use to human life? or young birds whose dams were in danger of being taken, through their attachment to their eggs or their young?

Some eggs might, possibly, be useful for food, and esteemed among the Jews, which were laid by wild-fowl or birds; but the beauty of the shell might make many, especially of the younger sort, fond of taking the eggs of many of the birds of that country, which are, without doubt, numerous, though few in the desert. It could not but be right to endeavour to inspire the young with sentiments of tenderness towards the brute creation, forbidding them to take away the anxious dam with the nest.

To what I have said above is, however, to be added, the account Irwin has given of numbers of eggs laid by sea-birds, on the sands upon or near the shores of the Red Sea. Speaking of a sandy

* Jer. xlviii. 28.

island, under the lee of which his boat sheltered, he tells us, "Here our people gathered a quantity of eggs, which the birds lay upon the sandy reefs. They tell us these eggs are well tasted and wholesome; but we are not driven to such straits, as to be obliged to put up with all kinds of food."* But if *he* did not relish this kind of food, eggs were and are reckoned delicious eating in the East.

This adds to the difficulty, of accounting for Moses not publishing this prohibition to Israel while in the Wilderness, since it shews that there were many more sorts of birds, and greater quantities of eggs, which they might then have taken, than the preceding quotations led us to suppose, the Red Sea being so shallow, that the people may wade a great way in it, and might doubtless get to many of these reefs where the eggs are laid, especially if they now and then joined a little swimming to their wading. So Irwin gives an account of a poor woman's wading, and swimming, on this coast, in order to get some provision, though of a different kind, from the eggs of wild fowl. June 15th, "a poor woman waded and swam through the water to our boat in the evening, and was very thankful for some measures of rice which she took away."†

Perhaps their being but seldom near the sea, might be one reason that the Jewish lawgiver did not think it necessary to announce this prohibition then, though there are many wild-fowl in that

* Page 96.

† P. 83.

sea, which lay their eggs in great numbers upon the adjoining sands.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

Of the Behemoth, or Hippopotamus.

DR. SHAW, with a multitude of other learned men, supposes the *behemoth* of the book of Job to be the hippopotamus, or river-horse. He also apprehends, that the Prænestine pavement, of which he has given a draught, p. 422, 423, exhibits a true and not a romantic representation of the natural history of Egypt.

If these two suppositions be just, there is a great deal of beauty in the ranging the descriptions of the behemoth and the leviathan, which last, I think, is now universally allowed to be the crocodile.

For in that Mosaic pavement, the people of an Egyptian barque are represented as darting spears, or some such weapons, at one of the river-horses ; as another of them is pictured with two sticking near his shoulders. Consequently, if this piece of antiquity truly exhibits the management of the Egyptians, according to the supposition, it was a customary thing with the old Egyptians thus to attack these animals. And if so, how beautiful is the arrangement ! There is a most happy gradation : after a pompous, but just representation of the terribleness of the river-horse, the ALMIGHTY is re-

presented as going on with his expostulations, something after this manner : But dreadful as this animal is, barbed irons and spears have sometimes prevailed against him. But what wilt thou do with the crocodile ? “ Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fishspears ? the sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold ; the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon. He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood. The iron cannot make him flee : sling-stones are turned with him into stubble ; darts are counted as stubble : he laugheth at the shaking of a spear,” &c.* *What wilt thou do with this creature, O Job !* This is finishing the expostulation in the strongest, in the most majestic, manner.

I am not insensible that several authors have described the hippopotamus as nearly invulnerable. Maillet tells us, “ its skin is two fingers thick ; and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it, as there is only a small place in its forehead, where it can be wounded.”† He adds, that “ some Nubian servants that he had, informed him, that the skin of one of them, preserved at Sannar, would have been brought to him with difficulty by four camels.” If their account could be depended upon, the skin of this animal must have weighed about as much again as that of the mighty elephant belonging to the king of the Two Sicilies, which died in the beginning of the year 1755, and which was described by the celebrated Abbé Nollet. The skin of this elephant when taken off, we

* Job xli. 7. 26—29.

† Lett. ix. p. 31.

are told, weighed seventy-four stone and a half, avoirdupois weight.* But as the natural history of the hippopotamus is not sufficiently known, as Hasselquist justly remarks, on the one hand ; and I am supposing the Prænestine-Mosaic pavement not romantic, on the other ; we are to consider it as vulnerable, and pursued by the Egyptians with spears and barbed irons, while nothing of that sort appears to be done there to the crocodiles, which are also figured in that pavement.

It is farther to be observed, that these river-horses appear, in this celebrated pavement, on the hillocks that are seen here and there, rising above the water, among the vegetables growing upon them : may we not believe these are the hills, the mountains as our translation renders the word, *which bring him forth food : where all the beasts of the field play ?* ver. 20. It is certain the altar of God, which was only ten cubits high and fourteen square, is called *הר אל har el, the mountain of God*, Ezek. xliii. 15.† The eminences then of Egypt, which appear as the inundation of the Nile decreases, may undoubtedly be called mountains in the poetical language of the book of Job. Nor is it any wonder that these animals are pictured in this pavement on these eminences, since the Turkey-wheat is what they are fond of, and this vegetable appears from time to time in these eminences. So Hasselquist tells us, that when

* Annual Register for 1761.

† Consult the original, or the margin of our translation.

he went to the burying-place of the Mummies, he saw, on the seventeenth of September, "the places not yet overflown, or where it had already begun to decrease, appeared clothed with a charming verdure, a great part sown with Turkey wheat, and some parts, though but few, with lucern."* And on the other hand he tells us, in another place, "that the river-horse does much damage to the Egyptians, in those places he frequents, destroying in a short space of time an entire field of corn or clover, not leaving the least verdure as he passes: being voracious, and requiring much to fill his great belly." This agrees with Maillet's account, who tells us, "it is incredible how pernicious he is to the productions of the earth, desolating the fields, and eating, in all places through which he passes, the ears of corn, especially the Turkey wheat."†

Hasselquist, in the first of the two last citations, goes on to inform us, that, "innumerable kinds of birds were to be seen on the places not under water.....all which excited his attention, but not so much as the crane called *ibis*: I thought this most remarkable, as an incredible number covered the fields. We see birds, accordingly, upon some of the hillocks of the Prænestine pavement; and beasts, in great variety, upon others."‡ This answers that other clause in Job, *Where*

* P. 84, 85.

† Lett. ix. p. 31.

‡ See the plate representing this curious pavement.—Edit.

all the beasts of the fields play, or are pleased, and enjoy themselves. All the wild beasts of the countries where the elephant resides are not mountaineers ; and if they were, it would be difficult to assign a reason why that circumstance should be mentioned in a description of the terribleness of the elephant ; but all the quadrupeds of Egypt are obliged to retire to these eminences, when the Nile overflows ; and the coming of a hippopotamus among them, and destroying all the verdure of the places of their retirement, augments our ideas of the terribleness of this creature.

A rhinoceros appears on one of these eminences, a most powerful, warlike, and well-guarded animal, but most probably not known in Egypt so early as the time of Job, and therefore not taken notice of in the expostulations of God with him.

OBSERVATION XXV.

Of the Fish in Egypt.

IMMEDIATELY after those verses of the nineteenth of Isaiah, which I had before occasion to cite, mention is made of the fishers of Egypt ; and it appears from Numb. xi. 5., *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely*, that there are great quantities of fish in that country : what therefore le Bruyn has said, and Dr. Wells repeated from him, in Vol. II. of his Historical

Geography of the Old Testament,* may appear surprising to some readers: I mean that the Nile, whether from the muddiness of its waters, or the numerousness of the crocodiles in it, has not many fish. As no commentator, that I know of, has touched upon this difficulty, it is a proper subject for these papers.

In the first place, then, fish might be very plentiful in Egypt, though they do not appear in great numbers in the stream of the Nile. There are several lakes and reservoirs of water in that country, in which they may appear in great quantities, and certainly do. Le Bruyn himself would not have contested this: for speaking of a lake two Italian miles to the East of Damietta, called the Dead Sea, he says, it was extremely full of fish.† Other lakes are, doubtless, as full. Great quantities are caught in that called Mœris, according to Dr. Pococke, especially when the lake is low, and carried to Faiume market, where they are sold very cheap.‡ Maillet also assures us, that there must be a prodigious number of fish in Egypt, since there are sometimes assembled upon those lakes or ponds, to which the water-game repair, an hundred thousand *agobilles*, a voracious kind of fowl, of which each devours at least three or four pounds of fish every day.§ He adds, that the coasts of the Lower Egypt are equally rich in fish, and that an infinity of fish of different sorts

* P. 67.

† Extraordinairement poissonneuse, Tome I. p. 576.

‡ Vol. I. p. 65.

§ Lett. ix. p. 21, 25.

are taken in the Red Sea ; so that fish may be extremely plentiful and cheap in Egypt, if but few should be found directly in the Nile, which le Bruyn affirms, but which Maillet denies. Curiosity in the mean while may lead a person to endeavour to decide this difference ; but the honour of the Scriptures by no means engages us to this, since they are ponds for fish that the Prophet speaks of, and the fishers are supposed to angle in the brooks, or canals cut from the Nile, as the word signifies.

Some fish, however, the Scriptures seem to suppose, are in the river itself, *The fish that is in the river shall die*, Exod. vii. 18. : which as le Bruyn does not deny, so Norden gives us to understand, is the fact, by his account of his finding a native of Barbary fishing at the cataract, who, by the assistance of a little hook, enabled Norden to catch some excellent carp, which the Barbarin himself carried for him to the barque ;* and his speaking afterwards of fish as plentiful there, when he gives an account of his return to the cataract on the eleventh of January.† Maillet in like manner speaks of carp in the Nile, as well as of various other kinds of fish there,‡ observing with surprise, that though there is an astonishing quantity of fish in that river, excepting eels,§ there are hardly any of our sorts of river-fish to be found

* Part II. p. 115, 119.

† P. 167.

‡ Lett. ix. p. 25.

§ To which we must add the carp, which he speaks of.

in it. To this he adds, as an amazing curiosity, that in the months of December, January, and February, they catch very good herrings in the neighbourhood of Cairo, but none at Rosetta, and very few at Damietta, by which they must pass in their way to Cairo; nor are they ever found in the Mediterranean.

Sandys agrees with Maillet in his account of an abundance of fish in the Nile, and of their differing much from ours in shape and quality. He says, that in going up the Nile, they often bought as much fish by the way for sixpence, as would have satisfied twenty people;* but informs us that, by reason of the muddy channel, they were not altogether savoury nor wholesome.† Egmont and Heyman agree with Sandys, as to the muddy taste of the Nile in general, but affirm that there are several sorts of fish which are very palatable: they mention four sorts in particular, one of which is said to weigh between two and three hundred pounds; and two other sorts weigh near thirty pounds a fish. All which are caught, they say, at all seasons in the Nile.‡

* Sandys, p. 92.

† P. 78.

‡ Vol. II. p. 220.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

Times in which the Egyptians live wholly on Fish.

The fish of Egypt are eaten in common with pleasure by the inhabitants of that country ; but in April and May, which is the hot season there, they scarcely eat any thing else but fish, with pulse and herbs : the great heat taking away their appetite for all sorts of meat.

This is Dr. Pococke's account, Vol. I. p. 182. Maillet says much the same.* Both agree that they are the months of April and May, in which they eat no flesh, and that it is owing to the great heats, which, Maillet says, are occasioned by the South winds that then blow. Maillet farther tells us, that Mohammedans and Christians, and people of all sorts that inhabit Egypt, adopt this custom, which is a very ancient one ; and that the fish which is eaten at this time is of two sorts, the one fresh, and the other dried in the sun, which, though it comes from the Red Sea, is prepared at Damietta. That they eat also quantities of fish of another sort, prepared with nothing more than salt and water, being a kind of small muscles, very much resembling those of France. The great themselves, he tells us, have no other food at this season.

* Lett. xi. p. 109, 110.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the complaint of the children of Israel in the Wilderness, *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, the melons, &c.; but now our soul is dried away, there is nothing at all, besides this manna*, Numb. xi. 5, 6., arose from the same cause, the peculiar sultriness of the weather, and their being accustomed in these hot seasons to eat fish, and refreshing vegetables, and consequently that they were somewhat hardly dealt with, in being punished with death, on account of this pining for the wonted diet of such times. But it is most probable, that the complaint of Israel rather proceeded from a wayward and perverse kind of luxuriousness, and for that reason drew down such a severe judgment from Heaven. So de Vitriaco tells us,* that some of the more delicate Egyptians pined to death, when Damietta was besieged, (A. D. 1218,) though they had a sufficiency of corn, for want of the food they were used to, pompions, garlic, onions, fish, birds, fruit, herbs, &c. It appears at least very clear, that the Israelites did not arrive at this station till the latter end of May, if before June, from Numb. x. 1; and it seems to have been some time after that before this murmuring, Numb. xi. 1.; so that either the South-winds do not blow at the same time in the desert, that they are wont to do in Egypt, or this complaint did not arise from that cause.

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 114.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Manner of catching Fish in Egypt.

IN the Mosaic pavement at Præneste, we see a representation of those toils with which the Egyptians were wont to catch fish.* These toils, Dr. Shaw tells us, continue to be used by the Egyptians to this day. They are made up of several hurdles of reeds, fixed in various windings and directions, and ending in a small point: into which the fish being driven, they are taken out with nets or baskets, as there represented. The same method, he had before observed, is made use of on the coast of Barbary.†

The Doctor goes no farther; but Maillet affirms, that they make no use of nets at all in Egypt. He mentions this indeed occasionally, but in such a manner as shews he was assured of the fact; for, having mentioned several methods the Egyptians made use of for catching crocodiles, he says,‡ “Others take this animal in a way that I can give no account of; but I am very sure it cannot be with nets, since they are not in use in this country.” And accordingly we find nothing that looks like a net in that pavement.

Nets are used in other countries in the Levant. Dr. Pococke expressly says, that they went in a

* See the plate, and the following description.

† In a note on p. 424.

‡ Lett. ix. p. 32.

boat on the lake of Tiberias, and that they diverted themselves with fishing with casting-nets, which they use there, throwing whenever they see the fish.* The not using them in Egypt then, I should think, must be in consequence of its being an old custom not to use them in that country.

If they have never been in use in that country, in what light must we look upon some translations of Isaiah xix. 8, 9, 10., where, though *nets* were not used in Egypt, the word occurs in the singular, or plural number, no less than three times in a description of the Egyptian fishery? Such a translation is that of Pagninus, even as corrected by Arias Montanus; and such is that of the curious Vitranga. Fishing with a hook is an Egyptian practice: in that manner the Barbarin fished, that Norden met with near the cataract; and the figure of a man in a boat, fishing after that manner, seems to appear in the Prænestine pavement. Fishing with toils is Egyptian also, and may be supposed to be referred to in the 8th verse, where toils might have been put in the room of the word nets. As for the other two verses, the learned are not agreed as to the precise sense of them, and for my part, I shall take no other notice of them, than just to observe, that the Septuagint translators, who are supposed to have lived in this country, saw nothing of nets in them.

It ought however to be acknowledged, that these translators seem to have been doubtful, whether a

word used in the 8th verse might not be intended to signify nets, for they have expressed there both toils and nets, if I understand them right: *And the fishermen shall groan, and all that cast a hook into the river shall groan; and they that throw nets, and they that set toils,* shall mourn.* But whether we can from hence certainly conclude, that nets were used in Egypt in the days of these translators, may be questioned; as may Maillet's account of the fishing with nets, in the lake at Memphis, in ancient days once in three years, nets at other times being only used by the Egyptian kings of those times; for this account is taken, not from any contemporary author, but Arabs who wrote long after, and perhaps these not cited with the utmost accuracy, which certainly was not the distinguishing talent of this French writer. What he says of the not using nets in these times, is much more to be depended on, as he speaks there from his own knowledge of the usages of the country.

Nets are, however, used in Egypt for the catching of birds; for Egmont and Heyman assure us, they saw them set among the reeds by the sea-side for quails, Vol. II. p. 206, 207.; though they are not used, if Maillet speaks truth, in their fishing.

* Οι Αμφιβολεις; which word may signify fishermen in general; but here, seems to be particularly expressive of those that set toils in various windings and directions, which Dr. Shaw speaks of.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

Of the different Kinds of Herbs used for Food in Egypt.

THERE seems to be a good deal of reason to question the accuracy of our translation of Numb. xi. 5.: *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely : the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic.*

I am not the first that has called the justness of this translation into question ; the learned and celebrated Ludolphus was not satisfied with those versions, which, like ours, represent the children of Israel as complaining for want of the *leeks* they were wont to eat in Egypt : yet these translations are conformable to that of the Seventy, an Egyptian work. Ludolphus, from the Arabic, has proposed to translate the third word *lettuce*, or *sallads* in general,* instead of *leeks*.

* See Bishop Patrick on the place. The Bishop, however, has been guilty of a little oversight, when he supposes the word *chatzir* (the third word) is translated *onions* ; that is the word that is translated *leeks*.—HARMER.

The words of the original, with the Septuagint and English translations, are the following :

1. הקשאים *ha kishaeem*, τους σικκους, the cucumbers.
2. האבטיח *ha abaticheem*, τους πεπονας, the melons.
3. החציר *he chatseer*, τα πρασα, the leeks.
4. הבצלים *ha betsaleem*, τα κρομμυα, the onions.
5. השומים *ha shoo meem*, τα σκοροδα, the garlic.

The reader will have occasion to recur to these as he proceeds with this *observation*.—EDIT.

To enable us to judge of this in the fairest manner, it is requisite to consider what are the most common things that are at this time eaten in Egypt, and which are more especially grateful on account of their cooling qualities, or least disgusting in very hot weather. It appears from a preceding Observation, that fish was eagerly desired by the Egyptians in hot weather ; and these vegetables without doubt were such as were wont to be eaten at such times, or at least were found to be cooling, and on that account pleasurable.

Maillet then, in describing the vegetables that the Egyptians use for food,* tells us, that melons, cucumbers, and onions, are some of the most common ; and concerning the last of these, he says, they are sweeter than in any other place in the world ; that an hundred pounds' weight of them may be sometimes purchased for eight or ten sols;† and that there is such an abundance of them, that they fill all the streets of Cairo, where they sell them ready prepared for eating. He observes, that there grows wild in the fields of Egypt a succory, or endive, a thousand times sweeter than that of our gardens ; that it comes up naturally in the meadows, without any art for its improvement, but is found much more plentifully on the side of Matarée, than in any other part of the country : none but Franks, he farther tells us, take any pains to have it blanched ; as to the common people, they take it just as they find it, and half

* Lett. ix.

† A sol is not worth much more than a halfpenny.

of them scarcely eat any thing else. He tells us also, that purslane is very common here ; that the Roman lettuces begin in November, and continue to April. These lettuces are all very good, but those that are sown last are much preferable to the others. They have a sugar-like taste, so agreeable, that they eat them without salt, without oil, without vinegar. “ I myself,” Maillet says, “ do the same, without being able to say whether I am led to it by example, or the nature of the thing itself.” These, with radishes, carrots, beans, and the leaves of the vine, are all the things of this kind, I think, which he speaks of as eaten in Egypt, excepting a plant that grows near the mountains of that country, the pith of which the Arabs, who are shepherds, as the Israelites were, he was told, were wont to dry for food.* To which we are to add, I presume, the ancient lotus ; whether we are to understand by it the colocassia, which, Maillet says, is common in that country, and its root very good to eat when properly dressed, and which, according to Mons. Belon, the Egyptians actually boil with most of their meat ;† or whether we understand it of a plant more nearly resembling the nymphæa, or water-lily, and which, perhaps, is described by du Halde in his History of China.‡ Be it the one or the

* Lett. ix. p. 18.

† See Ray’s Collect. of Travels, Part II. p. 92.

‡ Astley’s collection of Voyages and Travels gives this account of it from du Halde, “ In artificial fish-ponds, and often in the marshes, there grows a flower called *lyen wha*, in much esteem with the Chinese. By the leaves, the fruit, and stalk,

other, or a vegetable different from both, it appears in the Prænestine table, rising up every where in the waters of Egypt, in the time of the inundation of that country ;* and consequently, we may believe, grew wild in Egypt, in the time the Israelites sojourned there, as it did at the time of making that table.

Let us now consider what are those vegetables they were most likely to wish for in a time of great heat, when they were wont particularly to desire fish. Cucumbers, every body knows, are extremely cooling and refreshing to the Eastern

it appears to be the *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water-lily* ; which is but little valued in Europe." Upon which this collector observes in a note, that du Halde elsewhere says, it differs much from the water-lily, as well in the fruit, as the blossom and root. Then after having said in the text, from du Halde, that whole lakes are covered with its flowers, and that it shoots up above the top of the water, a yard, or a yard and half, &c. he says, "its colour is either violet, or white, or partly red and partly white: the smell is very agreeable: its fruit is of the size of an hazel nut, the kernel whereof is white, and well tasted. The physicians prescribe it to nourish and strengthen people weakened by long sickness: it is also very cooling in summer. The leaves are long, and float on the water...The root is knotty, like that of reeds; its pith and substance are very white. This plant is esteemed all over the empire, every part of it being of use; they even make meal of it, which serves for several occasions." Vol. IV. p. 304, 305. If modern describers of this Chinese plant contradict themselves in their accounts of it, shall we wonder at some inaccuracies in the ancient descriptions of the lotus? The curious would do well in publishing an exact account of this Chinese plant, and determining whether the same does not grow in Egypt.

* See the table, accompanied with an accurate description, Obs. xxxi. p. 63, &c.

people in hot weather. Melons are the same. We may then pay that deference, I think, to the Egyptian translation of the Seventy, as to suppose they were two of the things the Israelites longed for in the wilderness.

Maillet makes no mention of leeks in his catalogue of the edible vegetables of Egypt; they then could hardly be meant. Nor are leeks, I think, reckoned to be of a cooling nature. But what seems to put it out of all reasonable doubt is, the same word is used to express the food of horses and mules, 1 Kings xviii. 5., which can hardly therefore be allowed to mean *leeks*, but may very well stand for such vegetables as grew promiscuously with grass, which the *succory* or *endive*, it seems, does; for Maillet tells us it comes up naturally in the meadows. The same word then that denotes grass, may very well be supposed to include the herbs that grew among the grass, and particularly this succory or endive, which are mentioned by the writers on the *Materia Medica* as very cooling plants. Whether the word means lettuce too, and all salads in general, as Ludolphus supposes, is not so certain. If half the ancient Egyptians eat the succory or endive, and scarcely any thing else, as Maillet observes of those of modern times, this vegetable must, without doubt, be included in some of the words here made use of; most probably in the third, *We remember the cucumbers, the melons, the herbage, we did eat in the land of Egypt.*

In like manner, one can hardly imagine that the fifth word means garlic: for though I find by

Niebuhr, that garlic is made use of by the modern Arabs as a preservative against the deadly quality of their hot winds; for, speaking of several that have perished immediately by the smûm,* he says "more have lived some hours; others have been recovered by the refreshments the Arabs generally carried with them in journeying, such as garlic and raisins, and which they make use of with success, in recalling to life persons nearly stifled," p. 8; yet we are assured by Dr. Hasselquist, p. 290, 291; that garlic does not grow in Egypt; and though it is much used, it is brought from the islands of the Archipelago. Now if in these times garlic continues to be imported from those islands, we cannot suppose they were things that the enslaved Israelites were much acquainted with, when residing in Egypt in those elder times. Perhaps the roots of the colocassia might be meant, which are large, Maillet tells us, almost round, and of a reddish colour; and as being near a-kin to the nymphæa, I should suppose the colocassia is very cooling.

But be this as it may, we may suppose the Egyptian translators of the Septuagint were right in supposing one of these five words meant *onions*: since, though they do not appear to us to possess any very cooling qualities, yet they are, and were anciently, very much used for food in Egypt; and it is to be remembered, the Egyptian onions differ consi-

* A destructive hot wind, which frequently blows in their deserts, called by Dr. Russell, in his history of Aleppo, the sumyel.

derably from ours. So Hasselquist tells us, “Whoever has tasted onions in Egypt, must allow that none can be had better in any part of the universe : here they are sweet, in other countries they are nauseous and strong ; here they are soft, whereas in the North, and other parts, they are hard, and the coats so compact, that they are hard of digestion. Hence they cannot in any place be eaten with less prejudice, and more satisfaction, than in Egypt.—They eat them roasted, cut into four pieces, with some bits of roasted meat, which the Turks, in Egypt, call kebab ; and with this dish they are so delighted, that I have heard them wish they might enjoy it in Paradise. They likewise make a soup of them in Egypt, cutting the onion in small pieces : this, I think, is one of the best dishes I ever eat.” Perhaps it may not be amiss to add, that, according to Plaistead, those that travel the deserts now frequently take onions with them, along with other provisions, p. 31. : if they did so anciently, these complaining Israelites could hardly forget the onions of Egypt, when in the desert they were pining for what they had enjoyed among the Egyptians.

I would only farther add, that it was of the fish only that the text expressly observes the Israelites had eaten freely, *chinnam*, חנם or *gratis*, in Egypt ; but we may believe the other things were such as they could procure with little trouble there : this was certainly true with respect to the endive or succory, and the colocassia we have been speaking of, which appear to have grown wild there ; and with respect to the cucumbers, the melons, and the

onions, they might be indulged with the liberty of places in which they might sow these plants, and receive the benefit of them. The wild Arabs of Egypt now enjoy that liberty : so Captain Norden found the borders of the canal of Cleopatra, near Alexandria, peopled by divers flying-camps of the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, * in June or July,† about which time Egmont and Heyman found the same canal almost dry, and in it vast numbers of cucumbers, of which they eat some, and found them very palatable.‡

OBSERVATION XXIX.

Delicacy of the different kinds of Game in Egypt.

It is no wonder to find birds, in de Vitriaco's catalogue of the things that the people of delicacy pined for when besieged in Damietta : there are several of exquisite taste in Egypt. Norden, who differs extremely in his notions of this country from Maillet, its perpetual encomiast, and speaks of Egypt with the same freedom, that the ingenious author of the voyage of Lord Anson round the world does of the celebrated empire of China, yet allows this in more places than one, as appears by the following extracts :

“ NOVEMBER 21.

“—Our people fired upon abundance of pigeons

* Vol. I. p. 17.

† Preface, p. 19.

‡ Vol. II. ch. 8.

and killed some ; but they were out of season, and so hard that we could not eat them.

“ They found their account better in killing a sort of partridge, that was delicious, and of the size of our red partridges. They had feathers like those of the Guinea hens, and the tail like a swallow. Their flesh has an aromatic taste, and a great deal of flavour. There was no one in our barque that knew them.

“ NOVEMBER 29.

“—They killed however a goose of the Nile, whose plumage was extremely beautiful. But what was still better, it was of an exquisite aromatic taste, smelt of ginger, and had a great deal of flavour.*

“ NOVEMBER 30.

“—Our people that day had good success in game. They brought, amongst other things, three coromanes, a sort of bird of the size of a woodcock, of a delicious taste ; but still more esteemed on account of its fine note.”

It is no wonder that the Egyptians of Damietta pined for birds when shut up there, since there are so many extremely delicious in that country ; their young house-pigeons must in consequence be very excellent, since Maillet assures us,† they are highly esteemed there, and that they are indeed one

* They killed a dozen of these geese of the Nile, Feb. 1. and some Dec. 14.

† Lett. ix. p. 22.

of the best eatables that they have in that country. When therefore Thevenot tells us, that they catch wild-turtles in Egypt, which are very good, but the house-pigeons are good for nothing,* he is no otherwise to be reconciled with Maillet, than by supposing, as Captain Norden does, that at some times they are out of season, and that Thevenot happened to eat them at such a time. They were grown old.

It seems however from Thevenot, that at the very time that house-pigeons are so very indifferent, turtles are very good. And for this reason I suppose it was, that the law of Moses ordered them to offer on particular occasions two pigeons or two turtles; not merely according to the pleasure of the offerer, but according as they were in season: pigeons being sometimes quite hard and unfit for eating, at which times turtles are very good in Egypt, and, as we may suppose, in the Holy Land.

Agreeably to this we find that Moses expressly enjoined *young pigeons*,† and with reason, since the sacrifices of God were to be of the best; and these creatures grow very disagreeable as they grow old. There is not the same restraint as to turtle-doves: they are birds of passage, and are very good, when they appear in those countries, in which point Maillet expressly‡ agrees with Thevenot. The Jewish doctors however have

* Part i. p. 247.

† See Gen. xv. 9. Lev. i. 14. v. 7. xii. 6, 8, xiv. 22, 30. Luke ii. 24.

‡ Lett. ix. p. 21.

put their limitations upon those birds,* young turtle-doves being, according to them, unlawful, as pigeons are, when old, are not allowable, if they are in the right, until after they wax *golden-coloured*. Whether this is any more than a fancy derived from the words of the Psalmist, Psalm lxxviii. 13., or whether turtle-doves are really not so good to eat until they are thus coloured, which can be the only just reason to suppose them unlawful, does not appear from any thing I have met with in reading, so far as I can recollect. The silence of Moses upon the point is rather unfavourable to those that sit in his chair.

The number of pigeon-houses is extremely great in Egypt, each habitation being terminated at the top by a pigeon-house, above three quarters of the way from the first cataract to Cairo ;† they are numerous also in Lower Egypt.‡ Maundrell found them as plentiful in some parts of Syria ;§ and there is reason to suppose, that in the time that the Jews were in their own country, they were as numerous there. Pigeons however do not seem to have bred as early in Palestine as in Egypt, since it appears, by a citation in Lightfoot,|| that their not being fledged, and fit for use, was one canse anciently of intercalating the year : young pigeons then were not to be commonly had in Judea till the Passover, that is, till April or May ; but we find there are young ones in Egypt, at least in the Upper Egypt

* See Ainsworth on Lev. i. 14.

† Norden, p. 20, Vol. II. ‡ Le Bruyn, Tom. I, p, 588.

§ Vol. II. p. 185.

|| P. 3.

much earlier, for Dr. Pococke had a present of twelve pigeons made him in January or February.*

As for the other delicious birds that Norden speaks of, the swallow-tailed partridges, the co-romanes, and the geese of the Nile, it does not appear whether their Jew that attended them eat of them. But surely one of that nation of a scrupulous conscience must be uneasy, lest he should eat one or other of those birds which were forbidden by the law of Moses, when travelling in these countries, since they cannot now be ascertained, one sure evidence, among others as striking, that this dispensation must be ended, which gives leave to those that are under it, to catch birds and to eat them, after having poured out their blood, but forbids the eating of some species, which cannot now be distinguished from the rest, at least many of them. A Divine dispensation could never be intended to outlive the knowledge necessary to the observation of its precepts.

It is not perfectly satisfying to the mind to suppose, that the law could not intend to refer to birds which probably were not known in the Jewish country ; for those ceremonial injunctions, it is most likely, had some relation to Egyptian affairs ; but what is more, some of the delicious birds of Egypt were found also in Palestine : so Egmont and Heyman found a bird in Egypt about the size of a thrush, but of a green colour, whose flesh was remarkably palatable, which they affirm are very common in Palestine. Vol. II: p. 112.

† Vol. I. p. 116.

‡ P. 3.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Of the Olive, and its Produce in Egypt.

THOUGH Maillet tells us that olive-trees thrive to a wonder in this country, and produce fruit very commonly as large as walnuts;* yet Bishop Pococke assures us, that the country about Arsinoë was the only part of Egypt that naturally produced the olive, and that it was cultivated by art in the gardens of Alexandria,† which he seems to mention as a wonder, because the olive-tree flourishes in the South of France.

Whatever then a few cultivated trees might produce, Egypt could not be a country remarkable for oil of olives, which yet is one great comfort of life in the Eastern countries, being very much used there for food. At the same time oil was wanted for lights which must not only have been very numerous necessarily in such a thick-peopled country ; but was used by the ancient Egyptians in great quantities for illuminations, (which are still very frequent in these countries,) and especially in those months in which the Nile overflows, of which Maillet gives a most amusing description,‡ and which we may suppose more or less even in the prophetic time. To which also is to be added the custom, that obtains universally in this country,

* Lett. ix. p. 16.

† Vol. I. p. 57.

‡ Lett. ii. p. 80.

of keeping lamps burning during the night, in all the apartments of a house that are made use of; which occasions Maillet to say, that perhaps there is no country in the world in which so much oil is consumed as in Egypt.*

This great consumption of oil occasioned them anciently to draw it from other vegetables, as well as olives, and occasions them to do it still. A plant in particular called *cirika*, which a good deal resembles wild succory, furnishes them with a good deal of oil; but as its smell is very disagreeable, and its light not so good as that of olive-oil, it is not burnt by people of condition, or those that would be thought to be such.†

Syria, on the contrary, was a land of oil, and it was produced in great quantities in that part of it which the Jews inhabited;‡ it is no wonder then, that when the Jews wanted to court the Egyptians, they sent them a present of oil, which the Prophet Hosea upbraided them with, ch. xii. 1. : it was what their country produced in large quantities, and it is what was highly acceptable in Egypt.

* Lett. xi. p. 10.

† La même, p. 10, 111.

‡ See Deut. viii. 8. 2 Kings xviii. 32. and Dr. Shaw, p. 339.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

*Of the MOSAIC PAVEMENT at PRÆNESTE, relating to some of the Animals and Plants of Egypt and Ethiopia, in Illustration of the Plate.**

TILL the Scripture *zoology* and *botany* are more fully and accurately considered and understood, it may be a digression, not at all foreign to this subject, to give the reader, as an introduction to them both, a short description of the Mosaic pavement at Præneste; which lays before us, in a very beautiful manner, not only a great variety of the *animals*, but of the *plants* likewise, that are mentioned in the Sacred Writings. The whole is a very valuable and instructive piece of antiquity; and presents us with a greater number and variety of curious objects, relating both to the civil and to the natural history of Egypt and Ethiopia, than are any where else to be met with.†

* See the history, &c. of this Mosaic pavement in Father Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, Vol. XIV. and see Dr. Shaw's *Travels*, 4to. Edit. p. 423.

† This curious piece of antiquity is referred to by Mr. Harmer, in *Observation* xxvii. p. 46. of this Vol. Father Montfaucon and he are not of the same mind concerning the subjects of it. The former thinks that Sylla, by whose orders it was constructed, designed only by it to represent the games &c. of the Nile, of Egypt, and Ethiopia.—EDIT.

This pavement was found in the ruins of the temple of *Fortune* at *Palestrine*, the ancient *Præ-neste*, about 21 miles from Rome. It is formed of small stones of different colours, disposed with such art and neatness as to make it comparable to some of the finest paintings. It represents Egypt and a part of Ethiopia, though not laid down in a geographical manner, nor according to the rules of perspective. It exhibits tracts of land, mountains, valleys, branches of the Nile, lakes, quadrupeds, and fish of various sorts, and a great many birds. Several of the beasts have names not found in historians, through it is probable some of these are corrupted through the ignorance of copyists. It represents also huntsmen and fishermen, galleys, boats, men and women in different dresses, great and small buildings of different kinds, obelisks, arbours, trees, and plants, with a great variety of the most curious particulars relative to the times in which it was formed.

A passage in Pliny, *Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 25.*, shews us *when* and by *whom* this pavement was made: *Lithostrata ceptavere jam sub Sylla, parvulis, certe crustis, extat hodieque quod in Fortunæ delubro Præneste fecit.*—"The Mosaic pavements (*lithostrata*) were certainly begun to be made under the dictatorship of Sylla: they are composed of small stones; and there still remains one, which he caused to be made in the temple of Fortune at Præneste." It is well known that this city was considered as a place of refuge among the Romans, and during the disputes between Sylla

and Marius, the son of the latter was besieged here by Sylla's troops, who took the city, massacred 4000 of the inhabitants, and sold the rest for slaves. Sylla, being after this made Dictator, formed the pavement in question, but with what design is not very evident.

The conquest of Egypt, which seems to be that part of Alexander's history which is here represented, is displayed with all imaginable art and elegance. We see that hero (α) standing, in a commanding attitude, under a magnificent tent or canopy, attended by his warlike companions, and impatiently waiting for the tribute and submission of the Persians (β); which, in a very solemn procession, they are hastening to pay him.

On the right side of this curious groupe, and all the way from thence, to the utmost extent of the pavement, we are entertained at every turn, amidst a variety of plants and animals, with different prospects of cities (γ), temples (δ), castles (ϵ), bowers (ζ), dove-houses (ς), toils* for fish (η), the method of sitting at their banquets (χ), &c. We see the fashion also of the Egyptian boats (η), and of the Grecian galleys (θ), together

α The Greek letters, both large and small, in this description, refer to those on the *plate*.

* These toils continue to be used by the Egyptians to this day. They are made up of several hurdles of reeds, fixed in some convenient part of the river, in various windings and directions, and ending in a small point; into which the fish being driven, are taken out with nets or baskets, as is here represented. The like practice has been taken notice of before.

with the quality of their sails and oars; and in what manner they are each of them managed, conducted, and employed. The habits and dress, the arms likewise and weapons, of the Greeks, no less than of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, are often exhibited: and from the *scorpion*, which is charged upon some of the Grecian shields, we may conclude them to have been of *Commagene*, and that the bearing of such like military devices was much older than the croisades. Besides all this variety of objects, we are entertained with a view of their respective actions, exercises, and diversions: and under the lower bower (ζ), we see a person playing upon an instrument; the very same with the *gaspah* of the present Arabs, or the German flute of these times. The fashion likewise of their cups, or, as we may rather call them, drinking-horns, is here depicted.

At *Heliopolis* (Ξ) (i. e. *Bethshemesh*, or the house or city of the sun, Jer. xliii. 13.,) we are very agreeably entertained with the obelisks (ξ) that were erected before it.* This city is further distinguished by a beautiful temple (π), the temple of the sun, with the priests (P) standing before the portico,† clothed in white linen garments;‡ circumstances, which are all of them very applicable to the ancient history of this city. The figure likewise, as it appears to be, of a well (σ), makes

* Vid. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 38. Strab. l. xvii. p. 554. ed. Casaub. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

† Strab. ut supra, p. 553, 4.

‡ Herod. Eut. p. 116. ed. Steph.

part of this groupe; the bottom whereof is of a blue colour, to denote the epithet of *cærulea*, that was applicable to water.* This too might have been designed to represent *fons solis* or *ain el shims*;† the same fountain of fresh water, for which *Mattarea* (as *Heliopolis* is now called) continues to be remarkable.

After *Heliopolis* we have the prospect of *Babylon* (Σ), so called from the Babylonians, who were the founders of it. It is distinguished by a round tower, or castle (ϵ), the $\phi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\upsilon\mu\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu$, as *Strabo*‡ calls it, being the first part of the city that was built. *Babylon* was formerly called *Latopolis*, as it is at present Old and New Cairo; and, together with *Heliopolis*, made part of the land of Goshen.

On the other side of the river, towards *Libya* is the city *Memphis* (Ω), distinguished by several colossal statues (ω) *Hermes's*, or mummies rather; the *stantia busto corpora*, as *Silius Italicus*§ expresses it. The particular shape and figure of the basement (ψ), upon which the city is built, may be very well intended to represent the banks and ramparts, that were raised on each side of it, to secure it from the inundations and ravages of the Nile.

Upon a review, therefore, of all these remarkable circumstances, so applicable to Alexander's expedition in particular, and to the ancient state of Egypt, in general; there appears to be no

* Ovid. Met. l. viii. ver. 229.

† Vid. not. 8. p. 306.

‡ Lib. xvii. p. 1160.

§ Lib. xiii. v. 475.

small proof and evidence, that the artist, whether Greek or Roman, had made himself as well acquainted with the topography and civil history of Egypt, as, from the following circumstances, he will appear to have been conversant in the natural.

If we begin then with the animals ; it may be observed of them, in general, that, I. Some being better known, we may imagine, than the rest, are therefore delineated without names. II. Others, have their names annexed to them in Greek capitals ; of which some are well known. III. Others, though their names are known, yet the animals themselves have not been accurately described. IV. Others again there are, whose names are either unknown, or else have a dubious signification. I shall treat of these in their order.

I. Among those, therefore, of the first class, the precedence shall be given to the *crocodile* (H), which, from the scaly quality, Ezek. xxix. 4., and hardness of his coat, or, because *his scales* so stick together that they cannot be sundered, Job xli. 17., is therefore in no danger (ver. 7.) of *having his skin filled with barbed irons*, or *his head with fish spears*. The *crocodile* likewise is of too great weight and magnitude (ver. 1.) to be drawn out of the river, as fish usually are, with a hook. The *crocodile* then, from these apposite characteristics, may be well taken for the *leviathan*, as it is described in the book of Job, and elsewhere alluded to in the Holy Scriptures : where the *leviathan* is called the *piercing serpent*, or *dragon*, Isa. xxvii. 1., where Pharaoh is called the *great dragon* or *leviathan*, Ezek. xxix. 3., where the *heads* also

of the *leviathan* (i. e. of *Pharaoh* or *Egypt*) are said to be *broken in pieces*, Psa. lxxiv. 14., otherwise expressed, in the preceding verse, by breaking the heads of the dragons in the waters, or in the Red Sea. See Ezek. xv. 6. There is no small probability likewise (as, in the earlier ages, there was no great propriety in the Latin names of animals,) that the *dragon* or *serpent*, such a one as *Regulus* is said to have defeated, with so much difficulty, upon the banks of the *Bagradas*, was no other than the *crocodile*. For this animal alone, from the enormous size to which it sometimes arrives; from the almost impenetrable quality of its skin, which, we read, would hardly submit to the force of warlike engines, will best answer, as none of the *serpent* kind, properly so called, will do, to that description.

The *hippopotamus*, or *river-horse* (I), is here expressed, as hiding and sheltering itself among the reeds of the Nile. Now the *behemoth* is described, Job. xl. 21, 22., to *lie in the coverts of the reeds and fens*, and to *be compassed about by the willows of the brook*. The *river-horse* feeds upon the herbage of the Nile; and the *behemoth* is said (ver. 15.) to *eat grass like an ox*. No creature is known to have stronger limbs than the *river-horse*; and the bones of the *behemoth* (ver. 18.) are said to be *as strong pieces of brass*; *his bones are like bars of iron*. From all which characteristics, the *behemoth* and the *river-horse* appear to be one and the same creature. And then again, as the *river-horse* is properly an amphibious animal, living constantly in fens and rivers;

and might likewise, as it was one of its largest and most remarkable creatures, be emblematical or significative of Egypt, to which the Psalmist might allude, Psal. lxxiii. 30.; the *river-horse*, I say, may, with much greater propriety than the *lion* or *wild boar*, be received for the *beast of the reeds*, as חַיַּת קֶנֶה *chayath konah*, is better interpreted there, *the company of spearmen*, according to our translation. As for the *lion* and *wild boar*, one or other of which some have imagined to be this *chayath konah*, they may, with more propriety, be said to retire into, or to shelter themselves among, the tamarisks and the willows that attend watery places, than, out of choice or election, to live and make their constant abode therein. For the retiring, particularly of the *lion* out of these thickets, upon the swelling of Jordan, supposes it by no means to be amphibious, as the *river-horse* certainly was.

The *camelopardalis** (K) or *jeraffa*, as it is called in Egypt and the Eastern countries, the *zomer* of the Holy Scriptures, is sufficiently identified by its spotted skin and long neck. A little calf, as if it were just dropt from it, is lying by it.

The *cercopithecus* (Z), a noted Egyptian deity, is

* Strab. l. xvi. p. 533. ed. Casaub. Nabin Æthiopes vocant, collo similem equo, pedibus & cruribus bovi, camelo capite, albis maculis rutilum colorem distinguuntibus; unde appellata *camelopardalis*. Plin. l. viii. c. 18. Figura ut camelus, maculis ut panthera. Var. ling. Lat.

Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo.

Polit. cap. iii. Miscell.

more than once expressed ; as is also the *dog* (M), the *latrator Anubis*, according to its symbolical name : which, from the shape of it, as it is here expressed, should be that particular species, which is called the *canis Graius*, or *greyhound*. Now, as this quadruped is more remarkably contracted, or, (according to the Scripture name,) *girt in the loins*, Prov. xxx. 31., than most other animals ; as it is likewise one of the swiftest ; our interpreters seem to have judiciously joined it with the *lion* and the *goat*, among those three animals, (ver. 29.,) that are said to *go well, and are comely in going*.

At a little distance from one of these greyhounds (M,) we have a smaller quadruped, (N), which a large gaping serpent is ready to devour. This, from the size and shape, may be intended for the *ichneumon* ; which, Diodorus Siculus tells us, was of the size of a *lap-dog*.

The riding upon mules seems to have been of no less antiquity in Egypt, than in other Eastern countries,* as appears from one of them, with a rider upon it, under the walls of *Memphis* (Ω). The rider perhaps was sent to apprise the capital of Alexander's invasion : as the person behind him on foot may denote the mule itself to have been hired ; according to the like customary attendance of the owner, even to this day.

This pavement does not exhibit to us a great variety of *birds*. Among those that appear to be of the *web-footed* kind, we may take the smaller

* 2 Sam. xiii. 29. 1 Kings i. 33. Esth. viii. 10. Isa. lxvi. 17.

species of them (Q), to be the *goose*, one of their sacred animals ; as the larger may represent the *onocrotalus* (R), another noted bird of the Nile, otherwise called the *pelican*. The remarkable pouch, or bag, that is suspended from the bill and throat of this bird, serves not only as a repository for its food, but as a net likewise, wherewithal to catch it. And it may be farther observed, that in feeding its young ones (whether this bag is loaded with water or more solid food) the *onocrotalus* squeezes the contents of it into their mouths, by strongly compressing it upon its breast with its bill : an action, which might well give occasion to the received tradition and report, that the *pelican*, in feeding her young, pierced her own breast, and nourished them with her blood. קאאθ *kaath*, which, in Lev. xi. 18. Deut. xiv. 17. Psal. cii. 6. Isa. xxxiv. 11. Zeph. ii. 14. is translated in the text,* or else in the margin, the *pelican*, can be no such bird ; especially as it is there described to be a bird of the wilderness : for its large webbed feet, the capacious pouch, with the manner of catching its food, which can be only in the water, shews it entirely to be a *water-fowl*, that must of necessity starve in the desert.

Among the birds of the *crane* kind (S), we may pronounce one or other of them to be the *ibis*, from the curvature of its bill : as, among the others, we are to look for the *stork* and the *damoiselle*, the dancing bird, or *otis*, of the ancients ; which are every where to be met with.

* Herod. Eut. p. 131.

Besides the *eagle* (T), which is displayed in a flying posture over one of the gates of Memphis; we should not overlook that beautiful bird (u), adorned with a blueish plumage mixed with red. This sits perching under the same tree with the KHIHEN : and provided the artist, in the course of these drawings, had taken the liberty to indulge his invention, we might have imagined it to have been intended for the *phœnix*, a bird that we are so little acquainted with. Herodotus* acquaints us, that he saw one of them painted; which, though different from this, as being covered with red and yellow feathers, yet appears to be no other than the *manucodiata*, or *bird of Paradise*; and therefore this and the *phœnix* were probably the same. However, if the bird here displayed cannot be admitted among the birds of Paradise, we may suspect it at least to be the *peacock*, which was a native of Ethiopia, and brought, with other animals and curiosities, from the south-east parts of that country, to king Solomon, 2 Chron. ix. 21.

As, in the whole course of these figures, a particular regard seems to have been had to the sacred animals of Egypt, the *fish* (Δ), that is exhibited below one of the *pelicans* (R), may be received for the *lepidotus*†.

* Euterp. p. 131.

† Νομιζουσι δε και των ιχθυων τον καλασμενον Λεπιδωτον ιερον ειναι, και την εγχελυν. Herod. Eut. p. 131. The following species of fish are ascribed to the Nile by Athenæus, Deipnos. l. vi. viz. *Ναρχη, χοιρος, σιμος, φαγρος, οξυριγχος, αλλαβης, σιλερρος, συνοδοντις, ελεωτρις, εγχελυσ, θρισσα, αβραμης, τυφλη, λεπιδωτος, φουσα, κεςρευς και αλλοι ουκ ολιγοι.*

There is room to conjecture, from a couple of *tortoises* (O), that are sunning themselves upon a bank of sand; and from the like number of *crabs* (P), that are swimming in the waters; that the inland parts of these countries were productive of both these animals.

Among the reptiles, we are entertained with some few species of the serpentine kind: though it is somewhat extraordinary, that none of them should have the marks and signatures of the *cerastes*, which was so well known in Egypt. The common snake, which may be exhibited among them, is called, by the inhabitants of these countries, *hannesh*; which, by an easy transition and change of letters, is of the same force and sound, with the scripture נחש *nahhesh*. This, Gen. iii. 1., is said to be more subtle than all the other beasts of the field; a character, how applicable soever it may be to the whole genus; yet it appears, in this text, to be only attributed to one particular species. The common snake therefore, the same with the *natrix torquata* and the *anguis* of Esculapius, was the very species of the serpentine kind that beguiled our first parents.

Others of this family (W) are represented of an enormous size; being probably intended for that branch of it, which are commonly called *Δρακοντες* by the Greeks, and תנינים *tanninim** by

* There is no word in Scripture of a more undeterminate meaning than תנין, תנינים, or תנין; being sometimes taken for great fishes, for serpents, and sometimes for howling animals or jackalls. Rabbi Tanchum, whose opinion is espoused by the great Dr. Pococke, Hos. i. 8. and by his

the sacred writers. The largest of these (X), has seized upon a bird ; which, from the contrast, appears to have fallen down directly into its mouth. If, then, the common fame be true, that the *rattle-snake*,* and other serpents, have a power of charming birds and other animals, and bringing them down into their mouths ; it may be presumed, that

learned successor Dr. Hunt (*Orat. inaug.*) lays down a general rule how to distinguish the several interpretations that are to be put upon the words ; namely, that wheresoever תנין, תנינ, or תנות are plurals, they signify those howling wild beasts that inhabit desolate places ; but that תנינים with תנין and תנין in the singular, may be rendered dragons, serpents, whales, or the like. And, accordingly, תנין Job xxx. 29. Psal. xlii. 19. Isa. xlii. 23. xxxiv. 13. and xxxv. 7. and xliii. 20. Jer. ix. 11. and x. 22. and xlix. 33. and li. 37. Mic. i. 8, together with תנין Lam. iv. 3. and תנות Mal. i. 3. are to be taken for jackalls. But תנינים Gen. i. 21. Exod. vii. 12. Deut. xxxii. 33. Psal. lxxiv. 13. and cxlviii. 7. together with תנין Exod. vii. 9, 10. Job vii. 12. Psal. xci. 13. Isa. xxvii. 1. and li. 9. Jer. li. 34. and תנין Ezek. xxix. 3. and xxxii. 2 are to be rendered *dragons, serpents, whales, sea-monsters*, or the like ; according as they are spoken of such creatures, either as they relate to the land or to the water.

* “ I am abundantly satisfied (says the following author) from many witnesses, both English and Indian, that a *rattle-snake* will charm squirrels and birds from a tree into its mouth.” Vid. *Paul Dudley, Esq. his account of the rattle-snake.* Philos. Transact. No. 376. p. 292. *Dr. Mead on poisons*, p. 82. Others imagine that the rattle-snake, by some artifice or other, had before bitten them ; and as the poison did not immediately operate, the squirrel or bird, in the surprise, might betake themselves to some neighbouring tree, and afterwards fall down, to be seized upon by the rattle-snake ; which, sensible of the mortal wound that had been given, was impatiently waiting and looking for them.

we have here an action of this kind, of great antiquity, and very pertinently recorded.

II. Among those animals, that are distinguished by their names, and are likewise well known, we may give the first place to the PINOKEPOC.* Now as this is the only animal we are acquainted with, which is usually armed with one horn,† (for what is commonly called the unicorn's horn is not the horn of a quadruped, but of the *nervahl*, a cetaceous fish) our commentators have, for the most part, taken it for the רים *reem*. And indeed, in justification of this interpretation, the *rhinoceros*, from the very make and structure of its body, appears to be the strongest of quadrupeds, the *elephant* not excepted: so that in expressing the

* In Bartoli's drawings, the name is PINOKEPCOC; which, I presume, must be a mistake. According to a late account I had of this pavement from my worthy friend Thomas Blackburne, Esq. jun. of Warrington, he acquaints me that it is PINOKEPOC; as among the other names ΩΑΝΤΕC is ΘΩΑΝΤΕC: ΕΝΗΥΔΡΙC; is ΕΝΔΡΙC; and ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟC ΠΑΡΔΑΛΙC is ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛΙC. The ingenious Dr. Parsons, F. R. S. (Philos. Trans. No. 470.) has given us a most accurate figure, as well as a very curious dissertation, upon the rhinoceros.

† In Sir Hans Sloane's and Dr. Mead's curious collections, there are specimens of two of these horns being placed one above the other, at a span's distance; the one upon the snout, the other nearer the forehead; to a species of which kind the *geminum cornu* of Martial (Epig. xxiv. De spectaculis,) might probably relate. The Ethiopian rhinoceros, which Pausanias (in Bæoticis) calls the Ethiopian bull, was of this kind. Yet the rhinoceros upon the medals of Domitian, the same, we may suppose, that was exhibited at the secular games in his times, appears with one horn only upon the snout, as in those which have been brought to us hither, at different times, from the East Indies.

strength of Israel, Numb. xxiii. 22., it is justly compared to the strength of the *reem* or *rhinoceros*, or *unicorn*, as it is commonly translated. *Reem* then cannot be, as Schultens and others have interpreted it, the *oryx* or *bubalus*, or indeed any other species of the clean quadrupeds, which will by no means answer to this description of it.

We have nothing curious to offer with regard to the ΤΙΤΠΙC or the ΑΕΑΙΝΑ, with a cub sucking it: if we except the roundness of the spots in the former, which are unquestionably the distinguishing marks of the *panther*, and not of the *tiger*, as it is here called.

The ΑΙΝΞ is incorrectly given us for ΑΥΤΞ: the Ν in this name, and also in the CΦΙΝΤΙΑ, being put instead of the Γ: which, however, may shew how the Γ was pronounced before the letters Ξ and Γ. By the figure and attitude, it appears to be the same creature L, which the Ethiopians are shooting at, in the upper part of the pavement. Now the *lynx* being generally received for the *ῥως*, or *lupus cervarius*, of the ancients, it can bear no affinity at all with this creature; which is much better designed for the *wild-ass*, or *onager*, one of the noted animals of these countries.

The CΑΥΟC, by the addition of a P, will be CΑΥΡΟC, the *lizard*; the figure agreeing, with propriety enough, to the name. The ΕΝΗΥΔΠΙC, in like manner, is no other than ΕΝΥΔΠΙC, the Η being redundant; and denotes the *lutra*, or *otter*, or, as it is otherwise called, *the dog of the river*. They are two in number, holding each of them a fish in their mouths; agreeably to the character

of that piscivorous animal. This was likewise one of those quadrupeds that were accounted sacred* by the Egyptians.

The XOIPOIIOTAMΘΥ by exchanging the Θ for an O will be χοιροποταμου, or the *river hog*. This a new name indeed, though we can hardly be mistaken in the interpretation of it, as the animals here exhibited are exactly of that species. In Dr. Mead's curious collection of Bartoli's Drawings, we see the same group of animals, with the appellation of XOIPOIIIΘ-ΙΑ annexed to it : and as this word seems to be related to, or derivative from, XOIPOC and ΠΙΘΗΚΟC or ΠΙΘΗΞ, it should denote them to be *baboons*, *man-tigers*, or *orang-outangs* ; or, according to the literal interpretation, *hog-monkeys*, or *hog-baboons*. But, besides the length and curled fashion of their tails, the very shape and attitude of the animals themselves shew them to be much nearer related (as it has been already observed) to the hog than the monkey-kind ; and therefore XOIPOTAMΟΥ is rather to be received.

The ΑΓΕΛΑΡΟΥ likewise, from the similitude of the figure, should have been written ΑΙΛΟΥΡΟΥ, i. e. the *cat* ; which, being one of the sacred animals of Egypt, could not well be denied a place in this collection.

III. Though the names of some other of these animals are as well known in books of natural history as those already mentioned, yet the animals themselves have not been so well described ; they will require therefore some further illustration.

* Herod. Eut. p. 131.

The ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟC ΠΑΡΔΑΛΙC then, or the *spotted lizard*, (as it may be interpreted) might be intended for the *stellio* of the ancients; or the *warral*, according to the present name.

The ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟC ΧΕΡΧΑΙΟC, or *land-crocodile*, (so called in contradistinction, as it may be presumed, to the *river-crocodile*, which was the ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟC, by way of eminence) is the same species of lizard with the ΚΚΙΓΚΟC.* However the head is not here well expressed; being too round and large; whereas that of the *skink*'s is long, and rather more pointed, than in the other species of the lizard kind. Egypt has always abounded with the *skink*; and, to this day, several boxes of them, dried and prepared, are shipped off every year, for Venice, as an ingredient in their *theriaca*.

The ΟΝΟΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΑ is much better delineated than the κροκοδειλος χερσαιος; and may be called the *female ass-centaur*. Ælian† is very copious in describing this imaginary creature; the only fictitious animal in this collection: which the LXX however have placed instead of דָּוִיָּא or the *wild beasts of the islands*, as we translate it, Isa. xiii. 22. xxxiv. 14. &c.

The ΚΡΟΚΟΤΑC, or *crocota*, is the name as well known to the natural historians as the ΟΝΟΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΑ; though the animal itself has not been so well and so particularly described.

* Dioscor. lib. ii. c. 71.

† Ælian. Hist. anim. l. xvii. cap. 9. et l. vii. c. 22. Plin. l. viii. c. 21. and 30.

Ælian (l. vii. c. 22.) acquaints us, that it had the same art with the hyæna,* of learning the names of particular persons, and decoying them afterwards, by calling upon them by the same. But he gives us no characteristics, whereby the ΚΡΟΚΟΤΑΣ may be distinguished from other quadrupeds. We may supply the deficiency therefore from this figure, which is all over spotted. The head is rather long, like the bear's, than short and round, as in the cat kind. Agatharcides ascribes to it sharp claws and a fierce countenance.† The ears of it are small; the body is short and well set; and appears to have either no tail at all, or else a very short one. These then are to be received as the characteristics of the κροκοτας.

To this class we may join the CΦΙΝΓΙΑ, the same grammatical name with σφιγγες.‡ These have been commonly numbered among the imaginary beings, but appear here to be *cercopithecæ*, or *monkeys*; as indeed some ancient authors§ have described them. The prominence likewise,

* This property (Plin. Hist. Nat. l. viii. cap. 30.) is ascribed to the hyæna. Strab. l. xvi. p. 553.

† Agath. de Mar. Rubr. p. 45. ed. Oxon.

‡ Αι σφιγγες, τα σφιγγια. Salmas. Plin. Exercit. in Solinum.

§ Lynceæ vulgo frequentes et *sphinges*, fusco pilo, mammis in pectore geminis Ethiopia generat. Plin. l. viii. c. 21. Inter simias habentur et *sphinges*, villosæ comis, mammis prominulis et profundis, dociles ad feritatis oblivionem. Solin. cap. 27. Agatharcid. de Mare Rubro, p. 43. ed. Ox. *Spinturnicia* (i. e. *sphinges*) omni deformitate ridicula. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxii.

that is said to be in their breasts or nipples, may perhaps be authorized from the lowest of them, which has its limbs the most displayed; for those of the other are folded up and collected together, as the habit and custom is of that antic animal.

IV. Among such of these animals, whose names are either dubious or unknown, we may take notice of the **ΑΠΡΟC**; which, notwithstanding the affinity of it to the Latin word *aper*, yet has no relation at all to the *boar* kind. Excepting the spots, it agrees in shape, habit of body, and all other circumstances, with the **ΚΡΟΚΟΤΑC**: If we might presume that **ΑΡΚΤΟC** was the true reading in the pavement, the figure will answer, with propriety enough, to the bear, one of the noted animals of this country.

The **ΥΑΒΟΥC** is another unknown name. The large quadruped, to which it belongs, has the exact shape and habit of the *camel*. The ears likewise are erect, with a large tuft of hair growing between them, as is common, though not peculiar indeed, to this creature. The large bump too, which is usually placed upon the middle of the back, is here fixed nearer the shoulders: Yet, notwithstanding this mistake, **ΥΑΒΟΥC** may still be a derivative from **ΥΒΟC**, the bump, or branch, one of the chief characteristics of the *camel*, and from whence it very properly received this name. The custom of carrying treasures upon these bunches of camels, is mentioned Isa. xxx. 6.

Below the **ΥΑΒΟΥC** is the **ΚΗΠΠΕΝ**, which is a beautiful little creature, with a shaggy neck,

like the $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\theta\rho\iota\xi$;* and shaped exactly like those monkeys, that are commonly called *marmosets*. The KHIPIEN therefore may be the *Æthiopian monkey*, called by the Hebrews קופ *kouph*, by the Greeks, ΚΗΠΙΟΣ, ΚΗΦΟΣ,† or ΚΕΠΙΟΣ, from whence the Latin name *cephus* ;‡ with this difference only, that KHIPIEN has here an heteroclite termination. For little regard, as we may perceive from the preceding names, has been paid, either to the orthography, the number, or any other grammatical accuracies.

At a little distance from the KHIPIEN is the ΞΙΟΙΤ: and near this again are the ΩΑΝΤΕC ; appellations probably of *Æthiopic* extraction. With regard to the ΞΙΟΙΤ, it has all the appearance of a very fierce and rapacious animal. It seems to be howling with the mouth half open. The jaws are long, and well armed with teeth. There is no small probability, therefore, that it was intended for the *wolf*, and consequently will be the same (by softening the *Æthiopic* letter *by*) with *azybyte* or *zybt*, the *Æthiopic* name plural of the *lupus* or *wolf*.

We find the like analogy betwixt ΩΑΝΤΕC and the *Æthiopic* word *aanks* or *oanques*, as it may be

* Efferocior cynocephalis natura ; sicut mitissima *satyris* et *sphingibus*. *Callitriches* toto pene aspectu differunt, barba est in facie, cauda late fusa priori parte. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 54.

† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 817. Edit. *Almelov*.

‡ Pompeius Magnus misit ex *Æthiopia*, quas vocant *cephos* ; quarum pedes posteriores pedibus humanis & cruribus ; priores manibus fuere similes. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. viii. c. 19.

differently pronounced. The ΩANTEC then were (the Æthiopian) *civet cats* ;* as *aankes* is interpreted by Castel and Ludolfus. For greater differences than these are found in the derivatives of most languages. And, considering the nature and quality of the Greek and Æthiopic alphabets, and of their respective pronunciations ; it cannot be expected, either that the same letters, or the same force or sound of any one given letter, word, or appellation, should be exactly conveyed from one of these languages into another.

So much then with regard to the *animals* of this pavement. If *botany* is regarded, we have here the figures of the *palm-tree* ; both of the common species (A) that grows up in one stem ; and of the *doom* (B) or *κυκλιοφόρον*, that was forked. The stately uprightness of the palm is finely alluded to Jer. x. 5. We have the *musa* likewise (c) which is remarkably distinguished by large verdant leaves. The fruit of it is supposed, by some commentators, to be the *dudaim* or *mandrakes*, as others have taken the leaves for those which our first parents used instead of aprons, or *girdles*, as it should be rather rendered, Gen. iii. 7.

The *lotus* (D), that extraordinary vegetable symbol in the Egyptian mythology, is still more frequent than the palm-tree and the *musa* ; and, as it is here represented, agrees in the rotundity of its leaf and rosaceous flower, with the *nymphæa aquatica*.

* *Felis Æthiopica*, s. animal zibethicum. s. *hyæna odorifera*. s. *civetta*.

The large spreading tree (E) that presents itself so often to the eye, may be designed for the *sycamine* or *sycamore*, one of the common timber trees not only of Egypt, but also* of the Holy Land. The mummy chests, the sacred boxes, the παραδειγματα, the models of ships, and a variety of other curiosities, found in the catacombs, are all of them, as I have before observed, made out of this wood. And further, as the grain and texture of it are remarkably coarse and spongy, it could not therefore stand in the least competition (Isa. ix. 10.) † with the cedar, for beauty and ornament. The *sycamore*, from budding very late in the spring, is called *arborum sapientissima*: and, from having a larger and more extensive root than most other trees, it is alluded to as the most difficult to be plucked up, Luke xvii. 6. The mulberry trees, that are said, Psalm. lxxviii. 48. to have been destroyed by the frost, should be rather the *sycamore-tree*, סקמון as the word is.

Above the sycamores, within the precincts probably of Æthiopia, there is another large shady tree (F) distinguished by two yellowish clusters, as they seem to be, of flowers; and by the KHIIEN, which is running upon one of the branches. This

* Συκομορην, ενιοι δε και τουτο Συκαμινον λεγουσι, καλεια δε και ο απ' αυτης καρπος συκομορον, δια το ατονον της γευσεως. Diosc. lib. i. cap. 182, or *sycamine*, סקמון *sicamum*. Ps. lxxviii. 47. 1 Kings x. 27. 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. Amos vii. 14. Luke xvii. 6. xix. 4.

† The *sycamores* are cut down; but we will change them into cedars.

then may be the *cassia fistula*,* whose flowers are of this colour, grow in this fashion, and yield a most delightful fragrancy.

The CΦINTIA display themselves upon another large tree, of a less shady quality, and with boughs more open and diffused. These circumstances agree very well with the *azedarach* (not much different from אֶזְרַח *ezrach*, or the *bay-tree*, as we render it, Psal. xxxvii. 35.) another noted tree of these countries; whose commoner name is *ailah* or *eleah*; the same with the Hebrew אֵילֶּה the oak, the elm, the lime, &c. as it is differently rendered, Josh. xxiv. 21. Isa. vi. 13. Ezek. vi. 13.

The banks of the Nile are every where adorned with several tufts and ranges of *reeds*, *flags*, and *bulrushes*. Among the reeds, the emblem of Egypt, (2 Kings xviii. 21. Ezek. xxix. 26.) we are to look for the *calamus scriptorius*, the קנה, Isa. xliii. 24. Jer. vii. 20.) or *calamus aromaticus*, or *sweet calamus*, Exod. xxx. 23., and the *arundo saccharifera*. As most of these plants appear in spike or flower, they might thereby denote the latter end of the summer; the beginning of the autumnal season; or perhaps the particular time when Alexander made the conquest of Egypt. The clusters of *dates*, that hang down from one of the palm-

* *Cassia fistula* ab *Arabibus* inventa, et a recentioribus Græcis, ut Actuário κασσία μελαινα nominatur. Fabam Indicam veterum, ut Aristobuli, Valerius Cordus credidit. Siliquam Egyptiam Theophrasti Hist. 18. nonnulli censent. C. Bauh. Pin. p. 403. Being originally an Æthiopian plant, it might not have fallen under the cognisance of Theophrastus, as it was not known in Egypt at that time.

trees ; the bunches likewise of *grapes*, that adorn the lower bower ζ, may equally typify the same season. Neither should we leave the *bower*, thus occasionally mentioned, till we have admired the variety of climbers, that shelter it from the sun. Such are the gourd (the *kikaion* or* *kikoeon*, קיקון as it bids the fairest to be, in the history of Jonas,) the *balsamines*, the *climbing apocynums*, &c. all which I have seen flourishing in Egypt, at the time of the year, with great beauty.

As to the *flags* and *bulrushes* (ג) they are often mentioned ; particularly Exod. ii. 3. where we learn, that the mother of Moses, when she could no longer hide him, took for him an ark of bulrushes (or *papyrus*, as גמא is frequently rendered) and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein, and laid it in the flags סוף *suph, jun-*cus, by the river's brink. The *vessels of bulrushes*, that are mentioned, both in sacred and profane history, were no other than larger fabrics of this kind ;

* Some authors make the *kikaion* to be the same with the Egyptian *kik* or *kiki*, from whence was drawn the oil of *kiki*, mentioned by Diodorus, l. i. c. 33. This was the *κροτων* of the Greeks, the *elkaroa* of the Arabians ; the same with the *ricinus* or *palma Christi* ; which is a spongy quick-growing tree, well known in these parts, (vid. Ol. Clusii Hierobotanicon, p. 273.) though the oil which is used at present, and perhaps has been from time immemorial, for lamps and such like purposes, is expressed from hemp or rape-seed, whereof they have annual crops ; whereas the *ricinus* is infinitely rarer, and the fruit of it consequently could not supply the demands of this country. The Egyptians are said to be the inventors of lamps, before which they used torches of pine-wood. Clem. Alex, Strom. 1.

which, from the late introduction of plank, and stronger materials, are now laid aside.*

The short, and, it must be confessed, imperfect and conjectural account, that is here given, of this very instructive piece of antiquity, will, I hope, excite some curious person to treat and consider it with greater erudition, and more copious annotations. The subject very well deserves it; as all Egypt, and no small portion of Æthiopia, are here most beautifully depicted in miniature; and elegantly contracted into one view. And it will add very much to the credit and authority of the representations here given us, that notwithstanding the artist had so much room for indulging his fancy and imagination yet unless it be the ONOKENTATPA, we are entertained with no other object that appears to be trifling, extravagant, or improbable. Neither will there be much occasion to apologize, even for this figure; inasmuch as, several centuries after this pavement was finished, Ælian himself (lib. xvii. cap. 3.) that great searcher into nature, seems to give way to the common fame, and to believe the existence of such a creature. See Shaw's Travels, p. 432—437, 4to. edit. Lond. 1757.

* Isa. xviii. 2. Pliny (lib. vi. cap. 22.) takes notice of the *naves papyraceas*, *armamentaque Nili*; and (lib. xiii. cap. 11.) he observes, *ex ipsâ quidem papyro navigia texunt*. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have recorded the same. And among the poets, Lucan;

Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

Of the Excellence of the Egyptian Horses.

IF oil was so welcome to Egypt, the Egyptian horses were equally acceptable to the Syrian Princes, who had them brought out of that country, by the means of King Solomon, as we read, 1 Kings x. 21, 29., and 2 Chron. i. 16, 17., at a considerable expense.

What it was that made them prize the Egyptian horses so highly, is not a point easy to be determined. It cannot be imagined that they were animals peculiar to Egypt, or not known in that part of Asia, which made them so desirous to transplant such a useful exotic creature into their countries: for we read of great numbers of them in Syria before the time of Solomon.* They might be supposed, however, to be much stronger than the Syrian horses, and consequently much more useful in war; to which the Prophet Isaiah may possibly refer, when he tells the Israelites, that *the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their horses were flesh, and not spirit*, Isa. xxxi. 3. For it is well known, that they are much larger than other Eastern horses, as well as more beau-

* See 1 Sam. xiii. 5. where we read of six thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand chariots, which were drawn, it will be allowed, by horses, and consequently sixty-six thousand horses were in this army. See also 2 Sam. x. 18.

tiful.* Or they might be chosen on the account of their stateliness, and their being more proper for the use of those who desired to appear in great pomp and dignity.

But however this was, it seems to have been a proof of the great respect that was paid to Solomon by the neighbouring princes, and among the rest by those of Egypt, which the Scripture speaks of, but which has not, that I know of, been remarked by commentators, as pointed out in these passages, though they are very clear proofs of it, if the present Egyptian usages are derived from remote antiquity in this point, as they are in most other things : for in Mons. Maillet's last letter but one, he gives a long account of the difficulty of conveying horses out of Egypt, which is so great, he says, that excepting those that are designed for Turks of high distinction at Constantinople, it cannot be overcome. Maillet himself, though Consul-General of France in Egypt, and though he had powerful connexions with the great men there, could never obtain this liberty ; and he spends above two pages in proposing projects for doing that by subtilty, which he despaired of effecting by any other means. It is most probable the like difficulty subsisted in the time of Solomon, as the customs of Egypt are so very ancient ; and consequently his bringing horses out of this country for himself, and for other princes, at his pleasure, ought to be looked upon as a proof of the respect with which he was treated ; as the

* Shaw, p. 166. Maillet, Lett. ix. p. 27.

fondness of the present great men of the East for the horses of Egypt may account for the desire the kings of the Hittites and of Syria had to obtain them.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

Of the peculiar Excellence of the Egyptian Flax.

As for the linen-yarn, mentioned in these Scriptures,* it is still, according to Norden, one of the principal of their merchandises, and is sent away in prodigious quantities,† along with unmanufactured flax and cotton spun. To which I would add this remark of Sanutus,‡ who lived about four hundred years ago, that though Christian countries abounded in his time in flax, yet the goodness of the Egyptian was such, that it was dispersed all about, even into the West; for the same reason, without doubt, the Jews, Hittites, and Syrians, anciently purchased the linen-yarn of this country, though they had flax growing in their own.

* 1 Kings x. 28. 2 Chron. i. 16.

† Vol. I. p. 70.

‡ Gesta Dei, &c. Tom. II. p. 24.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

Of the fine Linen of Egypt.

OUR version having more than once mentioned the *fine linen of Egypt*,* numbers of people have been ready to imagine their linen manufactures were of the most delicate kind, whereas in truth they were but coarse.

Maillet is willing to suppose, their present works are not equal to those of former times. “There is still,”† he observes, “a considerable quantity of cloth made there, and of all kinds of manufactures of silk and cotton, silk and gold, and even velvets. But I must acknowledge, very few that are perfectly beautiful: and that they are far short of the riches and perfection of those that were formerly brought from Egypt.”

With respect, however, to their linen cloth, it incontestably appears, by examining that in which their embalmed bodies are found wrapped up, that their ancient linen fabrics were but coarse. Dr. Hadley found it to be so, upon inspecting a mummy in the year 1763.‡ In like manner,

* Gen. xli. 42. Ezek. xxvii. 7.

† Lett. xiii. p. 193.

‡ See the Philosophical Transactions for 1764. Those curious gentlemen, who were engaged in a very nice examination, tell us, they found the upper filleting of a degree of firmness hardly equal to what is sold at the shops for two shillings and four-pence a yard, under the name of long lawn, woven something after the manner of Russia sheeting. The inner filleting

Hasselquist, speaking of this matter, says, “ Their flax is soft and good, but not better than the European. They make to this day cloth of it in Egypt, which is coarse, and of little value, when compared to what is made in Europe ; however, the Turks purchase it, as do the Europeans, on account of its cheapness. By what we can see by the linen wrapt round the mummies, the famous linen of the ancient Egyptians was no better than what is made at present in this country. But it was then the best, as Egypt alone possessed the art of cultivating and manufacturing flax. The Egyptian linen is not so thick as the European, being softer, and of a looser texture ; for which reason it does not wear out so soon as ours, &c.”* He mentions the same subject again elsewhere, and confirms the preceding account : “ All Egyptian linen is coarse, and much of the same fineness with ten or twelve-penny Irish linen ; but with this difference, that the Egyptian is thin, and the Irish closeThe ancients talk much of the linen of Egypt, and many of our learned men imagine that it was so fine and precious, that we have even lost the art, and cannot make it so good. They have been induced to think so, by the commendations the Greeks have lavished on the Egyptian linen. They had good reason for doing it ; for they had no flax themselves, and were unacquainted with the art of weaving : but

was in general, they tell us, coarser, as well as more irregularly laid on.

* P. 244, 245.

were we to compare a piece of Holland linen, with the linen in which the mummies were laid, and which is of the oldest and best manufacture of Egypt, we should find that the fine linen of Egypt is very coarse in comparison of what is now made. The Egyptian linen was fine, and sought after by kings and princes, when Egypt was the only country that cultivated flax, and knew how to use it.”*

Hasselquist had the greatest reason to suppose the linen in which the mummies were wrapped, was the finest at that time in Egypt; for those that were so embalmed were persons of great distinction, and about whom they spared no expense.

The celebrity then of the Egyptian linen was owing to the great imperfection of works of this kind in those early ages: no other in those times being equally good, for that linen cloth was made in ancient times in other countries, contrary to the opinion of Hasselquist, seems to be sufficiently evident, from the story of Rahab, Josh. ii. 6.; and the eulogium of a notable Jewish matron, Prov. xxxi. 13, 24.

After all, there is no adjective in the original of the Old Testament answering the word *fine*; there is only a noun substantive *שש* *shesh*, which has been imagined to involve in it that idea.

But if it was so coarse, why is it represented as such a piece of magnificence, Ezek. xxvii. 7., for the ships of Tyre to have their sails of the linen of Egypt? Certainly because though coarse

* P. 398, 399.

in our eyes, it was thought to be very valuable, when used even for clothing; and if *matting* was then commonly used for sails,* sails of *linen* must have been thought extremely magnificent.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

Of the different Kinds of Linen manufactured in Egypt.

As the linen of Egypt was anciently very much celebrated, so there is reason to think, there were various sorts of linen cloth in the days of antiquity: for, little copious as the Hebrew language is, there are no fewer than four different words, at least, which have been rendered linen, or fine linen, by our translators.† This would hardly have been, had they not had different kinds.

Our translators have been unfortunate in this

* The sails in the Prænestine pavement seem to have been of *matting*, consequently the sails of that time in Egypt, famous for its pomp. Sails of matting are still used by the Arab vessels on the Red Sea, as we are assured by Niebuhr, in his description of that country, p. 188. It appears by Lord Anson's voyage, that the same usage obtains in some East India vessels, B. iii. ch. 5. Probably then it was the common practice in the first ages, which has not yet been deviated from in these countries.

Mat-sails are in use to the present day among the Chinese.—EDIT.

† These are בר *bad*, בוץ *buts*, פשת *pishet*, & שש *shesh*; and to these may be added שעטנן *shaatnez*, translated *linen* and *woollen*. אמן or אמן *emoon*, translated *fine linen*. Prov. xxxi. 24. and *sheets*, Judg. xiv. 12, 13.—EDIT.

article, I think, in supposing that one of the words might signify *silk*, and in forgetting cloth made of *cotton*.

When Joseph was arrayed in the land of Egypt, as viceroy of that country, they represent him as clothed with vestures of fine linen: Gen. xli. 42.; but being dubious of the meaning of the word there, they render it *silk* in the margin. This was very unhappy: for they not only translate the word (*ww shesh*) linen, in a multitude of other places, but certainly, whatever the word signifies, it cannot mean silk, which was not used, we have reason to think, in those parts of the world, any more than in these more Western countries, till long after the time of Joseph. They have gone farther; for they make the word *silk* the textual translation of the Hebrew term *shesh*, in Prov. xxxi. 22., which verse describes the happy effects of female Jewish industry; *She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is pink and purple.** They suppose, then, that the Jewish women of not the highest rank, in the time of Solomon, were clothed with vestments made of a material so precious in former times, we are told, as to be sold for its weight in gold;† for which reason, it is said, the emperor Aurelian refused his empress a garment of it, though she very importunately desired one.—Aurelian a prince, who reigned over all Syria and Egypt, the countries we are speaking

* Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art. Bombyx.

† See Norden with respect to Egypt, Vol. I. p. 170; and le Bruyn as to Syria, Tom. II. p. 150.

about, and the rest of the mighty Roman empire, and who lived almost one thousand three hundred years later than Solomon, and nearer these times in which silk is become so common. This seems very strange !

If they have introduced *silk* improperly, as hesitating sometimes about the meaning of a word rendered in common, *linen* ; this circumstance may also account for their omission of cloth made of cotton, which grows in great quantities in Egypt and Syria now, and makes one considerable branch of their commerce.

It is very possible, however, that the growing of cotton in Syria is not of the highest antiquity. I am persuaded the *פשת* *pishtee*, of Rahab, in particular, does not mean *cotton* but *flax*, as our translators have rendered the word, Josh. ii. 6. It will be right for me to give my reasons. Rahab, the sacred historian tells us, hid the Israelitish spies under the stalks of the *pishta*, which she had laid in order on the roof of her house. This must have been in the month of March, or thereabouts, for the spies were sent out by Joshua, as the leader of Israel, and consequently after the death of Moses : Moses died, according to the Jewish account, in the beginning of their twelfth month, that is, some time in our February or March ; and he certainly was alive the first day of the eleventh month, Deut. i. 3., in January. Agreeably to this we find, that, hiding themselves three days, the spies returned to Joshua on the other side Jordan ; that in consequence of the report they made, Joshua removed from Shittim to Jordan ; that after three days they passed over the Jordan, which was done

on the tenth day of the first month. All these particulars appear in the beginning of the book of Joshua: the spies were hidden under the stalks of this vegetable then, about the beginning of the first sacred Jewish month, that is, some time in March, or on the first part of April. It could not therefore be *cotton*, for that is not sown till after the Jewish Passover, and is ripe in autumn: so Mr. Maundrell, who had been at Jerusalem to celebrate Easter in 1697, which festival every body knows is a little later than the Jewish Passover, and fell that year on the fourth of April, found the country people every where at plough in the fields, at his return in the middle of April, in order to sow cotton,* and as cotton is sown about April, Dr. Russell says, that at Aleppo it is gathered in October;† and we know, from what has been remarked in the first chapter, that vegetables are in about the same forwardness at Aleppo as in Judea.‡ The pishta then of Rahab could not be cotton.

But it may without difficulty be believed to have been *flax*. I do not at present recollect any account, in the volumes of travels into the East that I have consulted, of the time in which they were wont to sow flax in Syria; but I remember to have seen an extract§ from a memoir relating to the cul-

* P. 100. † Vol. I. p. 78.

‡ Dr. Pococke's account is not very different: he says, it is sown the beginning of May, and is not ripe till September. He adds, that they turn up the ground so lightly, that he saw the stalks of the last year's cotton remaining: consequently the stalks of this vegetable cannot be supposed to have been brought home to Rahab's house.

§ In the Appendix to the 10th vol. of the Monthly Review.

tivation of flax, said to be written by an understanding man, who had lived long in Holland, where it is a considerable branch of trade. In this curious memoir concerning flax, in which he tells us the soil must be fat and moist, he observes that the seed may be committed to the ground in March, if the season be favourable; that if sown thus early, it will be ripe at the end of June, or the beginning of July at farthest; that the flax being pulled, it is laid softly upon the ground in large handfuls, and several handfuls are put one over another, until the heap is a foot and a half high, if the weather is uncertain; if dry, it is laid thinner; that if the season is favourable, twelve or fourteen days are sufficient to make it perfectly dry; if wet, they are sometimes obliged to leave it in little heaps eighteen or twenty days. From this account it appears, that it is sown about the same time with barley here in the West, and that it is ripe about a month or six weeks sooner than that grain: now barley begins to ripen in those Eastern countries about the time of the Passover,* or soon after; and, consequently, flax there might very well be laid a drying when the spies came to Jericho. In Holland they dry the flax-stalks in the field; but in the East they use the roofs of their houses for curing their figs and raisins,† for drying the blossoms of the safflower, used in dyeing,‡ &c.; and therefore Rahab may very well be supposed to

* Hasselquist, however, I have since observed, says, it flowers in winter, p. 245.

† Shaw, p. 211.

‡ Hasselquist, p. 253.

dry her flax there, especially in a time of apprehension from the approach of enemies, as that undoubtedly was, Joshua ii. 11. Wherever then we meet with the word *pishta*, we may conclude, I believe, that *flax* is what is meant.

If cotton was not originally a production of Syria,* any more than silk, yet it has been planted there, we may believe, many ages; and before they began to cultivate it, they might be, and doubtless were, acquainted with manufactures of cotton, brought from places farther to the East. Calicoes and muslins are still brought from thence to Syria;† and as, according to the very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, the East India trade was as ancient at least as the days of Solomon,‡ and Palmyra built on account of that commerce, some of those fine cotton manufactures were probably brought by the caravans then, and are what is meant by the Hebrew word *בּוּטַץ* *butz*. There are but *seven* places, I think, in which the word *butz* occurs in the Old Testament.§ The *first* mention that is made of it is David's wearing a robe of *butz*, when he removed the ark from the

* Silk as well as cotton is produced now in large quantities in Syria, and makes a very principal part of the riches of that country. Voyage de Syrie, par de la Roque, p. 8.

† Rauwolff, p. 84. They are brought, in like manner, from the East Indies to Egypt. Norden, Vol. I. p. 70. Maillet, Lett. xiii. p. 194, 195.

‡ P. 18.

§ It occurs in *eight* places, viz. Esth. i. 6. viii. 15. 1 Chron. iv. 21. xv. 27. 2 Chron. ii. 13. iii. 14. v. 12. Ezek. xxvii. 16. —EDIT.

house of Obed-edom to Zion, 1 Chron. xv. 27.* Two other places refer to the ornaments of Solomon's temple, a fourth to the dress of the Levites, a fifth describes it as one of the merchandises Syria carried to Tyre, and the other two relate to the court of Ahasuerus, king of Persia. How natural to understand all these places of East Indian manufactures, muslins or fine calicoes!

Solomon's making the dress of the Levites the same with what his father David wore on a high solemnity, and with what was worn by the greatest men in the most superb courts of the East, agrees with the other accounts that are given of him; particularly his making silver in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars as those trees that in the vale are remarkable for abundance, 1 Kings x. 27.

I leave it to the virtuosi to determine what the other two words mean. Perhaps we shall not be very far distant from their future decisions, if we should suppose, that the word שש *shesh*, means linen cloth, bleached to a whiteness resembling marble, since the word sometimes signifies marble; and that בדר *bad* is a generic term, which signifies *vegetable* clothing of all kinds, in opposition to that made of materials taken from animals—sheep, goats, or other living creatures. None of the words, I presume, mean *hempen* cloth: that, I should imagine, was as little known to the ancient Jewish

* This is the *second* time it is mentioned; see above. From the בויז *butz* of the Hebrews, probably came the βυσσος of the Greeks, and the *byssus* of the Latins.—EDIT.

writers, as the nettle cloth of Leipsic, or that made from hopbinds in Sweden, are to us.

As for the word סדין *sadin*, which they have twice translated *fine linen*, Prov. xxxi. 24. and Isa. iii. 23. it evidently signifies a particular vestment; and another word which they have also translated *fine linen*, in Prov. vii. 16. is believed to signify a *cord* or *thread*, which, joined with the preceding word, should seem to mean beautifully stitched: *With ornaments have I ornamented my bed; with works beautified with the thread of Egypt.* Words which, possibly, may be illustrated by the account d'Arvieux gives us of the coverlets the Arab princes make use of for their beds. "They have," he says, "coverlets of all sorts: some are very beautiful, stitched with gold and silk, with flowers of gold and silver,"* &c.

I would only add, in order to illustrate what may be supposed to be the meaning of the words שש *shesh* and בד *bad*, that the clothing of the common people of Egypt is linen only, but dyed blue with indigo, according to Hasselquist.† Such kind of linen may well be thought to be distinguished, upon some occasions, from that whitened like Holland. Some of the Egyptian linen also, if I remember right, is striped blue and white: such differences might make a generic word very requisite.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177.

† P. 244, 245.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

Method of staining and ornamenting the Nails.

THERE is a passage in Deuteronomy xxi. 12. about the sense of which our translators appear to have been extremely uncertain : translating one clause of the twelfth verse, *and pare her nails*, in the text ; and the margin giving the clause a quite opposite sense, “ suffer to grow.” So that, according to them, the words signify, that the captived woman should be obliged, in the case referred to by Moses, to *pare her nails*, or to *suffer them to grow* ; but they could not tell which of these two contradictory things the Jewish legislator required. The Jewish doctors are, in like manner, divided in their opinion on this subject.*

To me it seems very plain, that it was not a management of affliction and mourning that was enjoined : such an interpretation agrees not with the putting off the raiment of her captivity ; but then I very much question, whether the paring her nails takes in the whole of the intention of Moses.

The precept of the law was, that she should *make her nails* : so the Hebrew words literally signify. Making her nails, signifies making her nails neat, beautifying them, making† them pleasing

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

† The clause in the Hebrew is וַעֲשֶׂתָּהּ אֶת צַפְרֶיהָ *veasetah eth*

to the sight, or something of that sort ; *dressing* them is the word our translators have chosen, according to the margin. The 2 Sam. xix. 24., which the critics have cited on this occasion, plainly proves this : *Mephibosheth, the son of Saul, came down to meet the king, and had neither made his feet, nor made his beard, nor washed his clothes, from the day the king departed, until the day he came again in peace.* It is the same word with that in the text ; and our translators have rendered it in one clause dressed, in the margin of Deut. xxi. *dressed his feet* ; and in the other trimmed, *nor trimmed his beard*. Making the feet seems here to mean washing the feet ; paring their nails,* perhaps anointing, or otherwise perfuming them, as he was a prince, see Luke vii. 46. As making his beard may mean combing, curling, perfuming it ; every thing, in a word, that those that were people of distinction, and in a state of joy, were wont to do.

Making her nails, undoubtedly, means paring them ; but it must mean too every thing else relating to them, that was wont to be done for the beautifying of them. We have scarcely any notion of any thing else but paring them ; but the modern Eastern women have—they stain them

tsipparenceah, and doubtless refers to staining them with the *hennah*, mentioned afterwards.—EDIT.

* Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on this place, tells us, that it is customary in the East to have as much care of the feet as of the hands ; and that their barbers cut and adjust the nails with a proper instrument, because they often go barefoot.

with the leaves of an odoriferous plant, which they call Al-henna, of a red, or, as others express it, a tawny saffron colour. But it may be thought, that it is only a modern mode of adorning their nails: Hasselquist, however, assures us, it was an ancient Oriental practice. "The Al-henna," he tells us, "grows in India, and in Upper and Lower Egypt, flowering from May to August. The leaves are pulverized, and made into a paste with water: they bind this paste on the nails of their hands and feet, and keep it on all night. This gives them a deep yellow, which is greatly admired by the Eastern nations. The colour lasts for three or four weeks, before there is occasion to renew it. The custom is so ancient in Egypt, that I have seen the nails of mummies dyed in this manner. The powder is exported in large quantities yearly, and may be reckoned a valuable commodity."* It appears by this to be a very ancient practice; and since mummies were before the time of Moses,† this custom of dyeing the nails might be as ancient too; though we do not suppose the mummies Hasselquist saw, with their nails thus coloured, were so old as his time.‡

If it was practised in Egypt before the law was given, we may believe the Israelites adopted it,

* P. 246.

† Gen. i. 2, 26.

‡ The nails of the toes of the mummy inspected at London, in 1763, of which an account is published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1764, seem to have been tinged after the same manner; for those curious gentlemen observed that some of them retained a reddish hue, as if they had been painted.

since it appears to be a most universal custom now in the Eastern countries: Dr. Shaw observing that all the African ladies that can purchase it, make use of it, reckoning it a great beauty;* as, we learn from Rauwolff, it appears also to the Asiatic females.† I cannot but think it most probable then, that making the nails, signifies *tinging* as well as *paring* them. *Paring* alone, one would imagine, too trifling a circumstance to be intended here. No commentator, however, that I know of, has taken any notice of ornamenting the nails by colouring them.

As for shaving the head, which is joined with making the nails, it was a rite of cleansing, as appears from Lev. xiv. 8, 9. and Numb. vi. 9. and used by those who, after having been in an afflicted and squalid state, appeared before persons to whom they desired to render themselves acceptable, and who were also wont to change their raiment on the same occasion, see Gen. xli. 14. but this is not the point I am considering under this Observation.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

Strong Attachment of the Egyptians to their own Land.

THE *plenty* and *various comforts* of the land of Egypt attach its inhabitants so to it, that, according to Maillet, there is no getting any of them out of their native country.

* P. 104.

† P. 54.

This, he thinks, sufficiently appeared in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, when he received an order from the court of France, to send three Copti children thither, to be brought up in that country, as some of other Eastern nations were. He used all his efforts, and all the stratagems the Roman Catholic missionaries could contrive; but in vain. His attempts, on the contrary, well nigh produced a commotion. The endeavours of the Italian Fathers of the congregation, *de propagandâ fide*, to send five or six to Rome, in obedience to the orders of that congregation, were, he observes, as unsuccessful. This he ascribes to several reasons; but, above all, to one peculiar to themselves—the infinite attachment they have to their own country.*

But though there is no such thing as getting the Egyptians out of their own country now, numbers of them anciently, we find, lived as servants in other lands. Hagar was an Egyptian, Gen. xvi. 1.; Jarha, who belonged to Shesham, was an Egyptian, 1 Chron. ii. 34.; that servant to an Amalekite, that conducted David and his troops to the company that had destroyed Ziklag, was an Egyptian, 1 Sam. xxx. 11. I believe it will not be easy to pick out, from the Old Testament accounts, an equal number of servants of *other* countries that lived in foreign lands, mentioned there.

How different the views that Maillet and the Old Testament give us of the state of the Egyp-

* Lett. xi. p. 136.

tians, as to residence in their native country! What is the difference owing to, a less strong attachment to their own country anciently, or the fate of war? To the last, no doubt of it: for the country was then extremely fruitful, as it is now,* possessed the same delightful water of the Nile, the same exquisite pleasantness, and the same peculiarities of pleasure it may be that it has done since; but wars, without question, led many of its inhabitants into this state of servitude.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

State of the Desert, when Israel passed through it.

An ancient Jewish Prophet gives, according to our version, the following description of that Wilderness, whose northern part lies between Egypt and Judea, through a considerable part of which peninsula Israel had to pass in the days of Moses: *A land of deserts, and of pits; a land of drought, and of the shadow of death; a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt.*† The old Greek translation, called the

* Gen. xii. 10.

† Jer. ii. 6, “Neither said they, Where is the LORD that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, that led us through the Wilderness, through a land of deserts,” &c.*

* As the Hebrew words are often referred to in this and the following Observation, I think it necessary to set them down here, with the interlineary version of Montanus:

מָוֶת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת
ibi	homo	habitavit	neque	vir	ea	in	transiit	non	terram
per	מָוֶת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת	וְעֵלְמוֹת
בְּאֶרֶץ	לֹא	עָבַר	כִּי	אִישׁ	וְלֹא	יָשָׁב	אֶרֶץ	שָׁבָה	שָׁבָה

Septuagint, render it a little differently ; according to which translation it is described as a land immense in its extent, (or, perhaps, untried,* though I should rather understand the term in the first sense, as the idea expressed by *untried* does not much differ from the last clauses of the description ;) difficult for people to make their way through ;† a land without water, and without fruits : a land which no man passed through, and where no man dwelt.‡

The description that Mr. Irwin has given of that part of this Wilderness which lies on the western side of the Red Sea, through the northern part of which too Israel actually passed, very much corresponds with this description, and may serve to illustrate it ; the Wilderness on the eastern side of that sea, without doubt, originally resembling that through which Irwin passed, though the passing of the Mohammedan caravans to Mecca, every year, for many ages past, may have occasioned several alterations to have been made, to facilitate the passing of those devotees, who are many times people of high quality, through the more northern and eastern part of that terrible Wilderness : we may believe, I say, that it was anciently, in the parts through which Israel passed, as horrid as that on the western side is now.

The scarcity of water is the first thing I would

* *Ἀπειρος* is the word made use of.

† *Ἐν γῇ ἀβατῶ.*

‡ The word *ἄπειρος*, used by the Septuagint, refers simply to the lack of *roads* or *paths* in this desert : it was *unpierced*, i. e. *untracked*, as no man had hitherto passed through it in the direction in which Israel went.—EDIT.

take notice of. When it is described as a land without water, we are not to suppose it is absolutely without springs, but only that water is very scarce there. Irwin accordingly found it so. On the first day after his setting out, having only travelled five miles, they filled thirty water-skins from the river Nile, but which he thought might prove little enough for their wants, before they reached the next watering-place, p. 293. They travelled, according to their computation, fifty-four miles farther, before they found, three days after, a spring, at which they could procure a fresh supply, p. 300; and this was a new discovery to their guides, and for which they were indebted to a very particular accident, p. 298. It was not until the following day that they arrived at the valley where their guides expected to water their camels, and where accordingly they replenished the few skins that were then empty: the spring was seventy-nine miles from the place from whence they set out, p. 305. The next spring of water which they met with was, according to their reckoning, one hundred and seventy-four miles distant from the last, and not met with till the seventh day after, and was therefore viewed with extreme pleasure: "At nine o'clock we came suddenly upon a well, which is situated among some broken ground. The sight of a spring of water was inexpressibly agreeable to our eyes, which had so long been strangers to so refreshing an object." P. 321. The next day they found another, which "gushed from a rock, and threw itself with some violence into a bason, which it had hollowed for itself below. We had no occasion

for a fresh supply; but could not help lingering a few minutes to admire a sight, so pretty in itself, and so bewitching to our eyes, which had of late been strangers to bubbling founts and limpid streams." P. 324, 325.

A wilderness, in which they found only four springs of water in the space of three hundred and fifteen miles,* might well be stiled *ανυδρος*, or without water, in a popular way of speaking, though not absolutely exact. It appears from the Scriptures, as well as from late travellers, that there were, in like manner, some wells and natural springs of water in that part of the desert, which lay on the eastern side of the Red Sea, † where Israel much longer sojourned; but they were not many, and the places of watering at a considerable distance from each other.‡

I ought here to mention, the smallness of the quantity of water one of these four springs afforded, which Irwin met with in the desert; or at least the difficulty of watering their beasts at it. "We lost," says this writer, "the greatest part of the day at this spring. Though our skins were presently filled, the camels were yet to drink. As the camels could not go to the well, a hole was sunk in the earth below the surface of the spring, over which a skin was spread, to retain the water which flowed into it. At this but two camels could drink at a time; and it was six hours before our camels, which amounted to forty-eight in all,

* See p. 330.

† Exod. xv. 27.

‡ Exod. xv. 22. ch. xvii. 1.

were watered. Each camel, therefore, by this calculation, takes a quarter of an hour to quench his enormous thirst; and to water a common caravan of four hundred camels, at such a place as this, would require two days and two nights. A most unforeseen and inconceivable delay to an uninformed traveller!"

What would the mighty numbers of Israel have done at such a spring, with their flocks and their herds, when Moses was conducting them out of Egypt! The wilderness of Arabia then has but few places of water, and some of them not convenient for watering a number of people and beasts, if we may judge of it from that on the western side.

But not only is the quantity of water produced by a spring to be considered, but its quality also. Irwin does not complain of the water which he found here and there in this part of the desert, but of the only two springs which he found in the more southern part of the desert, in passing from the Red Sea westward to the River Nile, one of which was brackish, p. 162, and the other he seems to have thought unwholesome, complaining that his European companions, as well as himself, found their bowels greatly affected, which he attributed to the water they had gotten the day before, p. 168. This second spring of water was thirty-seven miles from the first, p. 164 and 165, which was only five miles from Cosire, the place from which they set out, and used, in common, by the inhabitants of that town, p. 162. These two were the only springs that they found in travelling one hundred and fifteen

miles, from the Red Sea to the Nile, p. 174. "The Arabs," he says, "have found springs in particular spots; but the deer (of whom he found many in his journeys through these deserts) must necessarily live many days without water in the depth of this desert; except that, like the rein-deer, who digs with certainty for provender beneath the snow, they supply themselves with water from a similar practice," p. 165.

If we are to give this part of the Prophet's description of that Wilderness a popular explanation, and not take it in the most rigorous sense; we ought undoubtedly to put the same kind of construction on the two last clauses of it—*A land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt*: a land that is not usually passed, and where hardly any man dwelt.

So Irwin describes * the desert of Thebais, as "unknown even to the inhabitants of the country; and which, except in the instances † I have recited, has not been traversed for this century past by any but the outcasts of human kind." Such a Wilderness might very well be said not to be passed through, when only two or three companies travelled in it in the compass of a hundred years, and that on the account of extreme danger, at that particular time, attending the common route. He actually calls it, p. 317, *a road seldom or never trodden*.

* P. 276.

† Which were only two companies of people, who were afraid to venture down the Nile, on account of disturbances on that river from civil war.

It is reasonable to believe, that great part of the Wilderness, through which Israel passed, was as little frequented in the days of Moses.

As to its being inhabited, Irwin travelled, by his estimation, above 300 miles in this desert, from Ghinnah to the towns on the Nile, * without meeting with a single town, village, or house. They were even extremely alarmed at seeing the fresh tracks of a camel's feet, which make as strong impression on a soft soil, and which the Arabs with them thought were not more than a day old ; and they could not comprehend what business could bring any but Arab freebooters into that waste.†

A passage, in p. 328 of his account, is hardly to be admitted an exception to this, where, describing his ascending an eminence near the Nile, a few miles above Cairo, to survey that river, he says, " About a mile from this charming retreat, buried in the desert from common observation, the robbers ‡ have their residence. They attended us thus far, and then returned to their tents, which they had pointed out to us on the road, as the dwellings of their families." Anciently, as well as now, there might be a few roving Arabs in that desert, but uncultivated ; and, without fixed dwellings in it, it might be said to be uninhabited.

When the Prophet describes this Wilderness, according to our version, as *the land of the shadow of death*, his meaning has been differently under-

* P. 327.

† P. 320.

‡ Wild Arabs, whom they met with in the deserts, and who, on account of their conductor, treated them as friends, and even escorted them part of their journey.

stood by different people. Some have supposed it to mean a place where there were no comforts or conveniences of life :* but this seems too general ; and to explain it as a particular and distinct member of the description, pointing out some quality different from the other circumstances mentioned by Jeremiah, seems to be a more just, as it is undoubtedly a more lively, way of interpreting the Prophet. Others have accordingly understood this clause as signifying, it was the habitation of venomous serpents, or destroying beasts ; some as endangering those that passed through it, as being surrounded by the hostile tribes of Arabs ; some as being overshadowed by trees of a deleterious quality. † They might better have introduced the whirlwinds of those southern deserts than the last particular, which winds, taking up the sand in great quantities, darken the air, and prove fatal to the traveller. This last would be giving great beauty and energy to the expression, (the shadow of death) since these clouds of dust, literally speaking, overshadow those that have the misfortune to be then passing through those deserts, and must at the same time give men the utmost terror of being overwhelmed by them, and not unfrequently do in fact prove deadly. ‡ So, great terror is expressed by the same term, Job xxix. 17. ; as is the darkness

* See Mr. Lowth's commentary.

† Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

‡ They might even better have mentioned the hanging pieces of granite, which, being torn from the mountain, seem ready to bury the traveller under the enormous masses, which Irwin mentions, p. 310.

of the Eastern prison, more destructive than those of the West, though by no means producing effects equally fatal with the hurricane in their Wildernesses. *Psa. cvii 10, 14.* This explanation, however, of Jeremiah's description, I have nowhere met with; nor do I consider it as the true one.

I should suppose they are in the right, who apprehend that the Prophet, by this expression, means its abounding with venomous serpents and scorpions, since it is thus that Moses describes the same country, with those writings; and, consequently, with this description, a Jewish Prophet must be supposed to have been well acquainted: *Deut. viii. 15., Who led thee through that great and terrible Wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint.*

This comment from Moses, I think, must appear to be unexceptionable: I cannot confirm it, however, by the testimony of this traveller, who passed from pretty far south to near the northern boundary of the western part of the desert. He even supposes such creatures are not to be found, at least in that part of this desert, through which he passed in the close of the summer* of the year 1777. "As we came up to the place, we disturbed a poor deer, that had sheltered itself here from the sun. These animals abound in this desert; and as we have not met with, or even heard of, any wild

* In September.

beast, or venomous creatures, in our peregrinations, I conclude Egypt to be free from them, notwithstanding the fables of antiquity." P. 294. Again, p. 319, " We sheltered ourselves behind a thick spreading bush to sleep, as the North wind blew peculiarly cold. Here my servant discovered a snake under his bed, which the Arabs tell us is poisonous. But it had no tokens of being so, if I may be allowed to judge from the variety of snakes I have seen in India."

But surely the Arabs must have been as competent judges of the poisonous quality of this animal. If Irwin happened on no venomous creature there, they may, notwithstanding, be to be found in that desert ; and if not now, Moses might describe that Wilderness as a place where they were to be found, since Israel had been actually wounded by such, and died in considerable numbers.*

A curious reader may perhaps be surprised at being told, that the Septuagint translate this clause by the single word *Ακαρπος*, as if all the danger of death there arose from the sterility of that country, and its producing few or none of the supports of life. Theodotion alone, if the collections of Lambert Bos are complete, translates the words *a land of the shadow of death*; the rest taking upon them to explain that figurative expression, and joining in supposing, it only signifies *unfruitful*. Was the desert of Thebaïs known by these Egyptian translators and transcribers to be without venomous inhabitants ? and did they suppose the Arabian part

* Numb. xxi.6.

of the desert was equally free from these poisonous animals ?

But if Irwin's account is not very favourable to what I take to be the true explanation of the expression—a land of the shadow of death ; he abundantly confirms the English version of another clause—a *land of pits*, which is also a part of the Prophet's description.

Many seem to have doubted of this being the meaning of the Prophet. The Septuagint appear to have supposed his intention was, in that second clause, to express its being unfrequented, untrodden, for they either used the word *Αβατος* or *Απειρος* ; the vulgar Latin, of the edition of Sixtus V. translates it after the same manner, (*per terram inhabitabilem et inviam,*) which translations coincide with the latter clauses of this description, and consequently extremely injure its beauty.

Irwin, on the contrary, affords a good comment on this part of our translation. In one place he says, “ The path winded round the side of the mountain ; and to our left, a horrid chasm, some hundred fathoms deep, presented itself to our view. It is surprising no accident befel the loaded camels.” Page 296. In another, * “ On each side of us were perpendicular steeps some hundred fathoms deep. . . . On every part is such a wild confusion of hanging precipices, disjointed rocks, and hideous chasms, that we might well cry out with the poet, ‘ Chaos is come again.’ . . . Omnipotent

Father ! to thee we trust for our deliverance from the perils that surround us. *It was through this Wilderness thou didst lead thy chosen people.* It was here thou didst manifest thy signal protection, in snatching them from the jaws of destruction which opened upon every side." And in the next page, " At two o'clock we came suddenly upon a dreadful chasm in the road, which appears to have been the effect of an earthquake. It is about three hundred yards long, one hundred yards wide, and as many deep ; and what is the curiosity, in the middle of the gulf a single column of stone raises its head to the surface of the earth. The rudeness of the work, and the astonishing length of the stone, announce it to be a *lusus naturæ*, though the robbers* declared to us, that beneath the column there lies a prodigious sum of money ; and added, with a grave face, they have a tradition, that none but a Christian's hand can remove the stone to come at it. . . . We rounded the gulf, which was called Somah ; and, leaving it behind us, we entered a valley where we found a very craggy road."

With what energy does the Prophet describe this place as the land of pits ! Indeed, after reading the preceding extracts, it is difficult to read the learned Buxtorf's explanation of this clause of Jeremiah without a smile. He allows the original word signifies a pit, or chasm ; and then, after citing this passage of Jeremiah, he adds, that is,

* People whom they accidentally joined in the Wilderness, and with whom they travelled in safety. See a preceding note.

so desolate, that it is more proper to furnish a sepulchre to a man, than an habitation to live in.* How happy when the observations of a traveller are united with the disquisitions of the philologist!

I have put off the examination of the first clause in this passage, *through a land of deserts*, to the last, as appearing the most obscure and difficult to ascertain, and as the interpretation I would propose is so different from, and indeed, opposite to, what is commonly supposed to be the meaning of it.

The vulgar Latin renders it by very different words, as does our English translation. Both, when they would affix a distinct meaning to it, make use of terms that signify an open and considerably flat country. The plains of Moab is a phrase that frequently occurs, to use a particular instance in our version; and *Campestris Moab* appears, in like manner, in the Vulgate. In the Latin translation of Pagnin, reviewed by Montanus, with an express design of making use of words as exactly corresponding to the Hebrew terms as possible, we shall find the word *campester*, in its several inflections, continually used. The reverse is a more true translation; and instead of an open, even, or champaign country, we are rather to understand the word as signifying here a district in which steep hills, frightful rocks, and difficult vallies, form a scene of dangerous variety.

The word ערבה *arabah*, in the original seems to involve in it the idea of *changeableness* and *va-*

* Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 882.

riety; but variety may be of an alarming and dangerous kind, as well as of a pleasing nature; and such seems to be the meaning of it here. Certainly the other parts of the description express what was dangerous and horrid; and this word then must do the same; and consequently if it implies a varied country, it must mean of mountains with dangerous precipices, horrid rocks, and vallies difficult to pass, not a district of delightful varied scenes; and such, in fact, seems to be the nature of this desert.

It was Irwin's description, of a part of this Wilderness, which first led me to this interpretation of the word here. I will set down some passages of his journal that relate to this subject.

Instead of travelling in the night, as he had proposed, to avoid the burning heat of the sun, he says, p. 294, "At seven o'clock we halted for the night. The Arabs tell us, that the roads are too rugged and dangerous to travel over in the dark." Under the next day, "We reached the foot of a prodigious high mountain, which we cannot ascend in the dark." The following day he tells us, p. 295, 296, "By six o'clock we had accoutred our camels; and leading them in our hands, began to ascend the mountain on foot. As we mounted the steep, we frequently blessed ourselves that we were not riding; as the path was so narrow, the least false step must have sent the beast down the bordering precipice." Under another day he remarks, that the greatest part of that day's journey was "over a succession of hills and dales, where the road was so intricate and broken, that nothing but a camel could get over it. The appearance of the

road is so frightful in many places, that we do not wonder, why our people have hitherto laid by in the night." P. 305.

In the whole of Irwin's journey, in this Egyptian desert, he was led to make observations of a similar kind, but it must be quite unnecessary to multiply quotations, descriptive of the nature of this country with respect to variety, which here I suppose signifies ruggedness.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

Present State of the same Desert.

As the desert through which Irwin passed is not such a land of drought as to have *no* springs of water, though they are very few in number, so it is not absolutely without rain.

For he tells us, p. 301, "As we overlooked the precipices beside us, I discovered several channels apparently worn with water, and am convinced in my own mind, from these and other signs, that either the Nile formerly branched into this desert, or rivers ran here whose springs are now choked up :

"Dumb are their channels, and their fountains dry."

But I should be inclined to suppose they were rather the tracts of winter torrents, than marks that branches of the Nile formerly flowed there, or that fountains ran in those places.

Maillet supposes indeed that very little rain falls

at Cairo, and less above it, which is truth in the flat country ; but it may be otherwise among the lofty hills of the desert through which Irwin passed. Maillet himself allows that the clouds are stopped by these mountains which come from the Eastward, and that such a stopping is the cause of rain in the Red Sea, which frequently happens.* But, surely ! some may fall among the mountains of this desert, as well as on the outside of this range of hills.

But if it should not be so in this particular desert, certainly very cold rains descend in some of the hilly parts of these south-eastern countries.† Those words of Job then may be a very just description :‡ *The poor of the earth hide themselves together. Behold, as wild asses in the desert, go they forth to their work, rising betimes for a prey ; the Wilderness yieldeth food for them, and for their children — They cause the naked to lodge without clothing, that they have no covering in the cold. They are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter.*

Irwin found the cold of that desert he passed through very severe at times ; had he passed it three or four months later, he might possibly have been incommoded with wet too.

* Lett. i. p. 16, 17.

† Albertus Aquensis gives an account of severe cold rain and snow in the mountains near Edom, and the land of Uz. *Gesta Dei*, p. 307.

‡ Ch. xxiv. 4—8.

OBSERVATION XL.

Farther account of the State of this Desert.

IRWIN farther describes the mountains of the desert of Thebaïs, as sometimes so steep and dangerous, as to induce even very bold and hardy travellers to avoid them, by taking a large circuit; and that, for want of proper knowledge of the way, such a wrong path may be taken, as may on a sudden bring them into the greatest dangers; while, at other times, a dreary waste may extend itself so prodigiously, as to make it difficult, without assistance, to find the way to a proper outlet. All which shew us the meaning of those words of the songs of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 10. *He led him about; he instructed him; he kept him as the apple of his eye.*

Jehovah certainly instructed Israel in religion, by delivering to him His law in this Wilderness; but it is not of this kind of teaching Moses speaks, as Bishop Patrick supposes, but God's instructing Israel how to avoid the dangers of the journey, by leading the people about this and that dangerous precipitous hill, directing them to proper passes through the mountains, and guiding them through the intricacies of that difficult journey, which might, and probably would, have confounded the most consummate Arab guides. They that could have safely enough conducted a small caravan of

travellers through this desert, might have been very unequal to the task of directing such an enormous multitude, encumbered with cattle, women, children, and utensils.

The passages of Irwin, that establish the observation I have been making, follow here. "At half past eleven we resumed our march, and soon came to the foot of a prodigious hill, which we unexpectedly found we were to ascend. It was perpendicular, like the one we had passed some hours before ; but what rendered the access more difficult, the path which we were to tread was nearly right up and down. The captain of the robbers,* seeing the obstacles we had to overcome, wisely sent all his camels round the mountain, where he knew there was a defile, and only accompanied us with the beast he rode. We luckily met with no accident in climbing this height." P. 325. They afterwards descended, he tells us, into a valley, by a passage easy enough ; and, stopping to dine, at half past five o'clock they were joined by the Arabs, who had made an astonishing march to overtake them, p. 326.

"We soon quitted the dale, and ascended the high ground, by the side of a mountain that overlooks it in this part. The path was narrow and perpendicular, and much resembled a ladder. To make it worse, we preceded the robbers ; and an ignorant guide among our people led us astray. Here we found ourselves in a pretty situation ! We had kept the lower road on the side of the hill,

* The plundering Arabs who were so friendly to them.

instead of that towards the summit, until we could proceed no further. We were now obliged to gain the heights, in order to recover the road ; in performing which, we drove our poor camels up such steepes, as we had the greatest difficulty to climb after them. We were under the necessity of leaving them to themselves ; as the danger of leading them through places, where the least false step would have precipitated both man and beast to the unfathomable abyss below, was too critical to hazard. We hit at length upon the proper path ; and were glad to find ourselves in the rear of our unerring guides, the robbers, after having won every foot of the ground with real peril and fatigue." p. 324.

Again : " Our road, after leaving the valley, lay over level ground. As it would be next to an impossibility to find the way over these stony flats, where the heavy foot of a camel leaves no impression, the different bands of robbers have heaped up stones, at unequal distances, for their direction through this desert. We have derived great assistance from the robbers in this respect, who are our guides when the marks either fail or are unintelligible to us."

These predatory Arabs were more successful guides to Mr. Irwin and his companions, than those he brought with him from Ghinnah ; but the march of Israel, through deserts of the like nature, was through such an extent and variety of country, and in such circumstances, as to multitude and incumbrances, as to make a Divine interposition necessary. The openings through the rocks

seem to have been prepared by Him, to whom all things from the beginning of the world were fore-known, with great wisdom and goodness, to enable them to accomplish this stupendous march.

OBSERVATION XLI.

Concerning the Fish in the Red Sea, and the great Dexterity of the Arabs in fishing.

WHEN Moses mentioned Israel's being fed with fish, collected from the Red Sea, he seems to have supposed something of an extraordinary kind; but analogous to what had happened to several people, in small companies, not any thing miraculous.

The passage is this: *You have wept in the ears of the LORD, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was well with us in Egypt: therefore the LORD will give you flesh, and ye shall eat—even a whole month—And Moses said, The people amongst whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh that they may eat a whole month. Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them (or rather to them) to suffice them?* Numb. xi. 18, &c. It farther appears, from that passage at length, that they were to eat of it a whole month, not sparingly, but plentifully.

In answer to the Divine declaration, Moses proposed a difficulty in accomplishing this promise in the natural course of things; not as imagining it

could not be done by a miracle. He could not but know, that He that rained down manna could, by a miracle, gorge them with flesh ; but in the common course of things, or in the natural, though more unusual, operation of Providence, could it be brought about ? that was what puzzled Moses.

Some flocks, and a few oxen, they had with them for the solemnities of sacrifice. But could a part of them, with any addition that might be procured from the people on the skirts of the desert, be sufficient to support them a whole month ? Fish might be obtained from the Red Sea, from which, it seems, they were not very distant. But could it be expected they would come in such numbers to the shore, within their reach, as fully to satisfy the cravings of their appetites, day after day, for a whole month ?

The ground of this enquiry, with respect to the flesh of quadrupeds, is visible to all : they had frequently tasted of their flesh in feasts, generally of a sacred nature ; sometimes, perhaps, of a less devout kind. But how came Moses to think of *fish* ?

Irwin explains it, by observing, that a little lower down, towards the straits of Babelmandel, he found fish in abundance in the Red Sea ; that the Arabs were very expert in catching them ; and that great quantities were to be picked up, from time to time, on the sand-banks, which are extremely numerous in the Red Sea.

There is no reason to believe, that Israel had not tasted fish in some of their encampments, of which some are expressly said to have been near

the Red Sea, Numb. xxxiii. 10, 11. ; and others are known to have been on that coast, or not far from it, where no mention is made of that circumstance in the Sacred Writings. And there can be no reason to doubt, that since many of them found fish so grateful to their palates, but that they would endeavour to make use of that opportunity for gratifying themselves. Manna was an additional supply, only intended to make up a sufficiency of food ; not designed to be exclusive of every other species of it. If the modern Arabs are so dexterous at catching fish now, the ancient Egyptians, we have reason to believe, were so in their time ; and the low and oppressed state of Israel in that country will not allow us to believe, that they did not exert themselves with equal assiduity ; and, in consequence of continual use, with equal success. *We remember the fish we did eat in Egypt freely*, was a part of their moan, Numb. xi. 5.

After these observations, I will no longer delay giving my reader the pleasure of those extracts from Mr. Irwin, that relate to this matter. I will set the passages down as they arise.

P. 82. " We caught some beautiful rock-fish in the evening, with our hooks. They were well tasted, and encouraged us to hope for such refreshments at other places on the coast." The next day, but in the same page, " We amused ourselves, during the morning, in catching fish, which readily take the bait here." Two days after, he says, " The reef at low water is every where dry, and we then pick up plenty of fish among the

crevices of the rocks. While we have this supply, we shall not be at a loss for provisions." P. 85.— "These fellows' dexterity in fishing," speaking of the Arab sailors, "cannot be sufficiently admired; and wherever we are, we may depend upon our master for a dish of excellent fish. At low water the reef appears some feet above the level of the sea, and our table was not unprovided with its usual service. This circumstance is very favourable to this coasting voyage; as, whatever other hardships they may endure, the want of provision is not felt by the mariners." P. 99, 100. Nor are those the only places in which he mentions the abundance of fish in the sea.*

Now though these fish were found at a considerable distance from the station of the Israelites; yet as the Red Sea, in general, is said to abound in fish, and the same rocks and sand-banks appear more or less every where there, I can make no doubt that Israel had before this got, by their art in fishing, and from the banks of sand and holes in the rocks at low water, considerable quantities, though by no means such quantities as were sufficient, without other food, or even to satisfy them upon the foot of eating a delicacy. Moses, however, with much less knowledge than he really possessed, for he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,† might have known that fish migrate, and are often found, at particular times, in very great quantities, where at other times few or none

* P. 47, 90.

† Acts viii. 22.

are seen, This is not only known in the North, and among us of this country, as to herrings, but to the vulgar of the Egyptians too, as we are assured by Monsieur Maillet, who mentions some circumstances that are not a little strange. "What is surprising," says this writer, speaking of the astonishing quantity of fish in the Nile, and its dependencies, "is, that there are hardly any of the sorts found there which are taken in the rivers of Europe, excepting the *eel*. It is, however, true, that in December, January, and February, they catch very good *herring* here. What will surprise you is, that this kind of fish is only found in the neighbourhood of Cairo; that none are taken at Rosetta, and very few at Damietta; past which cities, however, they must go in ascending to the first mentioned place. This odd appearance of nature deserves attention."*

If Moses knew what the common people of Egypt now know, and which their sages in ancient days must, at least, have remarked, he could be no stranger to that change of place that may be observed as to fish, and their crowding together at certain times; and to some such a natural, but surprising and unknown occurrence, as to the inhabitants of this sea, the words of Moses seem to point: *Shall the flocks and herds be slain for them..... or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together* (by some natural impulse, to this place, for a month or more, which none

* Lett. ix. p. 25.

of us have had any notion of, nor received any information about,) to *suffice them*? Such is, I apprehend, the spirit of these words.

OBSERVATION XLII.

Dangerous Navigation of the Red Sea.

IRWIN complains heavily of the slowness of the navigation of the Red Sea, owing to the number of rocks on that coast, the numerous banks of sand, and the unfavourableness of the wind, to those that want to go up towards the north end of this sea, or gulf:* upon which he remarks, that by their mode of coasting alone, he could easily conceive Ulysses to have been ten years rounding the shores of Greece; without the intervention of an enmity, but what the mariner may expect from the winds and waves.†

Surely the observation might be better applied to the time consumed by Solomon's navy in fetching gold from Ophir, though he had the assistance of Hiram's subjects, and that the Tyrians were the most skilful navigators of the world in those times. Solomon's navy sailed precisely in the same sea with Irwin, and were gone but three years.‡ The adventures of Ulysses took up ten years, on a less dangerous coast.

* The southerly winds prevail only in December, January, and February; and, at the changes of the moon, they are sometimes felt for a day or two in the other months, p. 140.

† Voy. up the Red Sea, p. 84.

‡ 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21.

They often dared not to sail on the Red Sea by night ; and there are particular places, he tells us, on that coast, which vessels are obliged to reach during the day, or else they must, at times, run back to the birth which they left, for want of anchoring ground.*

In a light open boat, they took up very near a month in ascending from Yambo to Cape Mohamed, which, according to Niebuhr's chart of the Red Sea, is not quite one-fourth of the way from Suez to the strait of Babelmandel. What time must a large ship, laden with riches, that required the most cautious management, have anciently taken up in returning from Ophir ! to which must be added the expence of time in going down the Red Sea, which, though less, was not inconsiderable.†

Rocks have been, anciently, and of late, made use of as places of refuge on the land by the people of the East ; but they are not, perhaps, looked upon in that light at sea. It seems, however, that it is customary there to fasten their vessels to some of

* P. 71.

† Even our own ships meet sometimes with great delays. In p. 106, 107, he tells us, the great Judda annual ship sails in the proper month, and in “ following the track which we have gone, as near as possible, she is generally fifty days, or two months, on her voyage to Suez ; and as it has happened this year, from some accident or other, she sometimes gets no farther than Tor. To fail in the performance of so short a voyage, in the most favourable season of the year, would be an inexplicable circumstance to a mariner unacquainted with the navigation of this extraordinary coast. To us, who are no strangers to the course, the wonder is, how a vessel of her great burden, and unwieldy structure, can accomplish the passage at all.”

the rocks, that are spread like a net all over the Arabian coast.* For want of anchoring ground, we are informed, they fasten to such rocks there as are proper for their purpose: "As the boat approaches the reef, one of the crew jumps from the forecastle, with a hook in each hand, and diving under the reef, fastens the hooks to the rocks, which are rendered porous by the water. The boat rides here in smooth water, with her sides almost touching the rocks."† And sometimes when the wind blew very strong, their Arabs made their boat fast with another rope, by a turn round a pointed rock.‡

OBSERVATION XLIII.

Of the sowing, watering, reaping, and threshing of Rice, in Egypt.

As in different parts of the Holy Scriptures there are frequent allusions to the *sowing of rice, watering the grounds, threshing*, or what the Prophet (Isaiah xxviii. 28.) terms, *breaking it with the wheel of the cart*: or *bringing the wheel over it*, Prov. xx. 26, it may not be improper to conclude this Chapter with a short account of the Sowing, Cultivation, Threshing, and Preservation of Rice, taken from the Travels of M. Sonnini, a writer worthy of the utmost credit in every thing that concerns the Natural History and Antiquities of Egypt.

"Rice is sown in Lower Egypt from the month

* P. 89.

† P. 71.

‡ P. 85.

of March to that of May.* During the inundation of the Nile, the fields are covered by its waters ; and in order to detain them there as long as possible, small dikes, or a sort of raised embankments, are thrown up, round each field, to prevent them from running off. Trenches serve to convey thither a fresh supply ; for, in order to make the plant thrive, its roots must be constantly watered. The ground is so moistened, that in some places a person sinks in half way up to his chin. Rice is nearly six months before it comes to maturity ; and it is generally cut down by the middle of November. In Egypt the use of the *flail* is unknown. To separate the grain from the straw, the inhabitants prepare, with a mixture of earth and pigeon's dung, spacious floors, well beat, and very clean. The rice is spread thereon in thick layers. They then have a sort of cart, formed of two pieces of wood joined together by two cross pieces : it is almost in the shape of sledges which serve for the conveyance of burthens in the streets of our cities. Between the longer sides of this sledge are fixed transversely three rows of small wheels, made of solid iron, and narrowed off towards their circumference. On the fore part, a very high and very wide seat is clumsily constructed. A man sitting there drives two oxen, which are harnessed to the machine, and the whole moves on slowly, and always in a circular direction, over every part of the heap of rice, until there remains no more grain in the straw. When it is thus beat, it is spread in the air to be dried.

* Sonnini's Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, p. 145.

In order to turn it over, several men walk abreast, and each of them with his foot makes a furrow in the layer of grain, so that in a few moments the whole mass is moved, and that part which was underneath is again exposed to the air.

“ The dried rice is carried to the mill, where it is stripped of its chaff or husk. This mill consists of a wheel turned by oxen, and which sets several levers in motion : at their extremity is an iron cylinder, near a foot long and hollowed out underneath. They beat in troughs which contain the grain. At the side of each trough there constantly stands a man, whose business is to place the rice under the cylinders. He must not suffer his attention to be diverted ; for he would run a risk of having his hand crushed. After this operation, the rice is taken out of the mill, and sifted in the open air ; which is done by filling a small sieve with as much grain as a man can lift ; this he raises above his head, and gently spills the rice, turning his face to the wind, which blows away the small chaff or dust. This cleaned rice is put a second time in the mill, in order to bleach it. It is afterwards mixed up in troughs with some salt, which contributes very much to its whiteness, and principally to its preservation ; it has then undergone its whole preparatory process, and in this state it is sold.”^{22*}

* See an account of the methods of cultivating Rice in different parts of Madras, Vol. II. Observation xxxvii. p. 40, to which this should have been annexed, but it was overlooked at the time.—EDIT.

CHAPTER XI.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

OBSERVATION I.

Manner of presenting Offerings to God at Jerusalem.

WHEN the Prophet describes the Israelites as being carried to Jerusalem, by the Gentile nations, as an offering was carried thither in a clean vessel ;* some have understood it to mean with songs ;† and others understand it of pomp and joy in general : though there may be cleanliness without either songs or magnificence. Commentators too suppose, that the vessel in which an oblation was wont to be carried, was well cleansed before it was applied to that use.‡ But all these put together express, imperfectly, the thought of the Prophet.

1. Very *different things* were sent as sacred presents to the house of God : we have an instance of this in the history of King Saul: *Then shalt thou*

* Isaiah lxvi. 20.

† The Septuagint.

‡ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

go on forward from thence, and thou shalt come to the plain of Tabor, and there shall meet thee three men going up to God to Bethel, one carrying three kids, and another carrying three loaves of bread, and another carrying a bottle of wine, 1 Samuel, x. 3. The word מנחה *minchah*, used in the original, and translated here *offering*, and which seems commonly to be used for offerings of the bread kind, might be applied to all these things; for, as in secular matters, it stands for presents of any kind—cattle, Gen. xxxii. 13, &c. balm, honey, spices, myrrh, pistachio nuts, and almonds, Gen. xliii. 11.; so it expresses live-offerings to God, as well as inanimate oblations, as is evident from a passage in Malachi, (ch. i. 13, 14,) *Ye brought that which was torn, and the lame and the sick; thus ye brought an offering (מנחה minchah:)* Should I accept this at your hands? saith the LORD. But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the LORD a corrupt thing.

2. It is believed that such things were carried to the house of God with great pomp, and therefore undoubtedly in very clean vessels,* if any of them were of such a nature as to make such an assistance necessary, or agreeable. The passage of Isaiah, I just now quoted, shews, that when they went to the house of God, on more solemn occasions, it was with the pomp of music playing be-

* So the word טָהוֹר *tachor*, in this passage translated *clean*, signifies magnificence, or glory, in Psa. lxxxix. 44, and is accordingly so translated in our version of that passage.

fore them. *Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept ; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the LORD, to the Mighty One of Israel.*

When the first fruits were carried to the Sanctuary, according to the Jewish writers, an ox went before them with gilded horns, and an olive crown upon his head,* and the pipe played before them, until they approached near to Jerusalem. When they came to Jerusalem, they crowned their first fruits, (that is, they exposed them to sight in as much glory as they could, Lightfoot says,) and the chief officers of the Temple went out to meet them.†

It is natural to suppose something of this pomp attended their voluntary oblations ;‡ certainly cleanliness, essential to Levitical pomp, though the lowest part of it.

And I suppose the baskets, or their vessels, in which loaves of bread, cakes, and other things, were carried, were not merely carefully *cleaned*, but that they were generally, if not always, *new*. This would appear most respectful ; and be thought most effectual for guarding against impurity and defilement. The Eastern people seem to have made newness an important quality, where they

* The heathens adorned their sacrifices in something of the same manner, according to Acts xiv. 13.

† Lightfoot, Vol. II. p. 307.

‡ The cattle might be adorned with garlands, if their horns were not gilded.

would express respect, as well as where purity is particularly required.

I have frequently remarked this, in the accounts given by travellers, of the people of the East.* Most probably then the Jewish people carried their sacred presents in new vessels : however, freedom from pollution was the main thing about which they were concerned.

3. The application of blood to such vessels must have been esteemed, in particular, very polluting : *Do ye abide without the camp*, said Moses to Israel, *seven days : whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify both yourselves and your captives, on the third day, and on the seventh day. And purify all your raiment.*†

But in such long journies as are supposed in this passage, when Israel should be brought from among the nations to their own land, they might be obliged to shed blood in their own defence. This is supposed in that passage of the book of Ezra, in which Ezra saith, speaking of his taking much such a journey as Isaiah refers to, (coming up from Babylon to Jerusalem, in consequence of a Persian prince's favouring the return of the Jews, of those times, into the country of their forefathers) *I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to help us against the enemy in the way : because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon*

* They generally have new clothes for the celebration of their religious festivals.

† Numb. xxxi. 19, 20.

all them for good, that seek him, but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.
Ezra viii. 22.

The carrying then of Israel to the land of their forefathers, as oblations were wont to be carried to the Temple in a clean (in an unpolluted) vessel, seems to intimate, that they should meet with no enemies to oppose their passage thither, and occasion the shedding of blood. That seems to be the principal thought; though, very probably, the ideas of magnificence and joy might be united with that of peace.

The Mohammedan pilgrims to Mecca have, in our times, soldiers to guard them in their journey, and are themselves commonly armed; yet, notwithstanding, are sometimes set upon, pillaged, and abused, according to Niebuhr, on the account of misunderstandings with the Bedouin Arabs.* He mentions several late instances, but says nothing, in that passage, of the Arabs slaughtering, lately, many of the pilgrims, as well as their military protectors, which yet it seems was the fact. But no bloodshed, according to the Prophet, was to attend the bringing Israel back to the holy city: neither of those returning Jews, nor of their conductors, nor of any enemies that should oppose their passage. They were to be presented an unpolluted offering to God.

That the Mecca pilgrims were not many years since slaughtered in considerable numbers as well as robbed, appears from the Memoirs of the Baron

* Niebuhr, *Descript. de l'Arabie*, p. 330, 331.

de Tott :* “ Constantinople, at the same time, received intelligence, that the admiral’s ship, while the officers and the greater part of the men were on shore, had been seized on, and carried into Malta, by the slaves who were on board ; and that the caravan, notwithstanding it was escorted by the Pasha, with soldiers and artillery, had been attacked and cut in pieces by the Arabs of the desert. By these two catastrophes, the superstition and vanity of the nation were hurt at the same time.” They were on the way from Mecca to Damascus ; and it was said, in the papers of that time, that the pilgrims were 50 or 60,000 in number. Their perishing in such numbers, in so sacred a journey, must certainly have hurt their superstition ; and their vanity, as affected by the despised and injured Arabs.

A violent commotion, the Baron tells us, was apprehended, but prevented by the artful management of the vizier ; and “ as to the unhappy pilgrims of the caravan, they were looked upon as so many martyrs.”† It is evident then from this writer, who lived long in Turkey, that they were not only plundered but very many of them slaughtered. The time when Constantinople was thus filled with lamentation, and apprehensions of a commotion, from these events, was the beginning of the reign of Sultan Mustapha III. who succeeded his brother Osman in the beginning of October, 1757.

* Vol. I. Part I. p. 127.

† P. 130.

OBSERVATION II.

Rain sometimes falls in the Desert between the Nile and the Red Sea.

I have taken notice of the traces of rain found in the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea; and I would here remark, that rain sometimes is found to fall in that part of the desert which lies on the Eastern side of the Red Sea, where Israel wandered so many years, which circumstance is referred to in the Scripture, and therefore claims some attention among the other Observations contained in these papers.

Pitts, in his return to Egypt from Mecca, which he visited on a religious account, found rain in this desert. His words are as follow :*—" We travelled through a certain valley, which is called by the name of *Attash el Wait*, i. e. The River of the Fire, the vale being so excessively hot, that the very water in their goat-skins has sometimes been dried up with the gloomy, scorching heat. But we had the happiness to pass through it when it rained, so that the fervent heat was much allayed thereby; which the haggest† looked on as a great blessing, and did not a little praise God for it."

This naturally reminds us of a passage in the lxviiith Psalm, ver. 9. *Thou, O God, didst send a*

* P. 159.

† Pilgrims.

plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary, speaking of God's going before his people when they came out of Egypt, and entered upon their sojourning in this Wilderness.

The Mohammedan pilgrims that were with Pitts, do not seem to have wanted water to drink ; but the fall of the rain, it seems, was highly acceptable to them, on account of cooling the air in a place where, from its situation, it was frequently wont to be extremely hot.

One of the first things that occurs to a reflecting mind, upon reading this passage of the Psalmist, is, an enquiry whether this rain was miraculous, or a common exertion of the power of the God of nature, though under the direction of a gracious Providence. It seems now, from this account of Mr. Pitts, to have been the last, and not contrary to the common course of things in that Wilderness.

The time of year when Pitts passed through this desert is not exactly known. In his youth he was taken by the Algerines ; and his having, in consequence, forgotten our way of computing time, must be admitted as a just apology for his omitting dates. It is however certain that it was in the latter end of the year, probably sometime in December.*

* It appears by circumstances, he was at Mecca in the year 1685 or 1686 ; and, consequently, it will be found by calculation, and an attention to various circumstances, that he arrived at Grand Cairo, along with the caravan of pilgrims, in their return, about the close of the year, according to our reckon-

No mention is made of this merciful shower in the books of Moses, so far as I remember ; but as we are told in the Psalm, immediately after, of the fleeing of kings, if the circumstances referred to here are ranged in exact order, it must have been before the Amalekites set upon Israel in Rephidim ; but there can be no dependence upon that, especially as mention is made of Sinai in a preceding verse, and in the outset of the description of God's marching before his people through the Wilderness.

OBSERVATION III.

Curious Illustration of Amos ii. 8., concerning the Clothes laid to pledge by every Altar.

It was soon found to be advantageous, in point of ease and healthfulness both, to have a carpet, or some soft and rather thick cloth, spread upon the ground on which persons sat who dwelt in tents, which we find in after times were made use of too by the inhabitants of houses.

How soon this began to be practised it is impossible to say ; but it is proved to have been in use, even in their temples, as early at least as the days of Amos, as appears by a passage in that

ing. In their month of Ramadan he found a very considerable shower of rain fell at Mecca, which must therefore probably have been some time in *August* ; which earliness of the rain, in that country, and its quantity, deserves a good deal of notice. His account of this rain is in p. 83. and 127.

Prophet: *They lay themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge, by every altar.** I would make some remarks on this passage.

It appears, in the first place, that when they held their idolatrous feasts, in the temples dedicated to the gods worshipped by the Heathens of those countries, they sat upon the ground. Next, that they sat not on the bare earth, or marble pavement of those temples; they had something soft and dry, perhaps warm, spread under them. Thirdly, that these things were not part of the furniture of such places, they were brought occasionally by the worshippers themselves, for they were things taken for a pledge by these worshippers that the Prophet speaks of. Farther, when they are called clothes, I would observe, it is by no means necessary to suppose the word meant dresses worn in the day, or designed for that purpose; it appears, from 1 Kings i. 1., that the word בגדים *begadeem*, may mean the coverings of the body for the night, as well as those for the day.† Lastly, that the coverings of their beds were either carpets, or what might with sufficient commodiousness be used as such.

“When it was dark,” says Dr. Chandler,‡ “three coverlets, richly embroidered, were taken from a press in the room which we occupied, and

* Amos ii. 8.

† “Now King David was old, and stricken in years; and they covered him with *clothes*, but he gat no heat.”—So, in our language, we talk of *bed-clothes*, as well as clothes worn in the day-time.

‡ Travels in Asia Minor, towards the beginning.

delivered, one to each of us ; the carpet or sofa, and a cushion, serving, with this addition, instead of a bed."

After this confirmation of the last particular, I would go on, and next observe, that such carpets, or embroidered coverlets, would be neither an improper pledge for money borrowed, or disgrace the pomp of a Heathen temple.*

So then it is sufficiently plain, that in the days of Amos carpets were made use of ; that they sat upon them when laid on the ground, and that when they feasted in the most magnificent and solemn manner. It does not however follow, that this mode of sitting at taking their repasts, has prevailed among the Eastern Jews from the age in which we live, without variation, up to the time of the Prophet Amos, and from thence to the remotest generations. As the names of places were many of them changed according to an Observation of Maundrell,† from Ammianus Marcellinus, when the Greeks and Romans were concerned in Syria, but never took with the natives, the places resuming their first Oriental names, which continue to this day ; so it might very possibly be as to some customs : thus at the time of our LORD, they sat not with their legs crossed under them as

* That their bed-coverings were wont to be pledged, not unfrequently, in those early times, appears from Exod. xxii. 26, 27, " If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down. For that is his covering only ; it is his raiment for his skin ; wherein shall he sleep ? "

† P. 54.

now, at the sacred Paschal feast which He celebrated with His disciples, but reclined after the Roman manner, and consequently, in all probability, on carpets laid upon low couches.

With Roman customs fixed in their minds, our translators also use the term *lay down* here, ("they lay themselves down on clothes laid to pledge,") which the Hebrew word *yattoo* does not determinately signify. The same objection, I doubt, may be made to the word *stretch*, which has been used in a late version; for which the world is indebted to the learned Bishop of Waterford. *Stretching themselves* leads us, I should think, to the Roman attitude in their sacred feasts; but *placing* themselves on those carpets, in the manner used at that time, in that country, when people partook of an idolatrous feast, is indisputably what is, in the general, meant. As to the precise attitude, the word signifies the *spreading out a tent*, (Genesis, xxxiii. 19.,) which much better answers a man's being placed in the present Eastern way, than the lying along according to the Roman mode, which would be much more exactly resembled by a tent just taken down, and laid along upon the ground, previous to its removal, than the setting one up.

Before this passage is totally dismissed, it may not be amiss just to consider, why the circumstance of being *clothes that were taken to pledge* is mentioned here. Attending an idolatrous feast must have been undoubtedly wrong in these Israelites. But of what consequence was it to remark, that some of them seated themselves on carpets that

had been put into their hands by way of pledge? It may be answered : that it might be galling to those that had been obliged to pledge these valuable pieces of furniture secretly, to have them thus publicly exposed ; that it may insinuate that these idolatrous zealots detained them, when they ought to have been restored ;* and that they subjected them to be injured, in the tumult of an extravagant and riotous banquet in a Heathen temple ; to which may be added, that they might belong to some of their countrymen who abhorred those idols, and might consider them as dishonoured, and even dreadfully polluted, by being so employed.

With respect to the last of these circumstances but one, (the being injured in extravagant and riotous banquetting,) I would remark, that they are wont, in their common repasts, to take great care that their carpets are not soiled, by spreading something over them ;† but in public solemnities they affect great carelessness about them, as a mark of their respect and profound regard. Thus de la Vallé, describing the reception the Armenians of Ispahan gave the king of Persia, in one of their best houses, when he had a mind to attend at the celebration of their Epiphany, says, after the ceremonies were over, he was conducted to the house of Chogia Sefer, a little before deceased, where his three sons and his brother had prepared every thing for his reception : “ all the floor of the house, and all the walks of the garden, from

* Ezek. xviii. 7, 12, 16. ch. xxx. 15.

† Russell's *Descript. of Aleppo*, Vol. I. p. 172.

the gate next the street to the most remote apartments, were covered with carpets of brocatel, of cloth of gold, and other precious manufactures, which were for the most part spoiled, by being trampled upon by the feet of those that had been abroad in the rain, and their shoes very dirty : their custom being not to put them off at the entering into a house, but only at the door of the apartments, and the places where they would sit down.”*

At the same time that the Prophet complains, that they fixed themselves in their idolatrous repast on the clothes they had taken to pledge, he adds, according to our version, “ And they drink the wine of the condemned in the house of their god.” Perhaps it may not be amiss, a little to consider that clause too before I finish this paper.

It is admitted by all, that wine was used in the sacred feasts of the Heathen : if it were at all doubted, Judg. ix. 27. might be alleged as a proof of it : *They went out into the fields, and gathered their vineyards, and trod the grapes, and made merry, and went into the house of their god, and did eat and drink, and cursed Abimelech,* i. e. expressed their malevolence towards him in the songs they sung, on that occasion, in the temple.

But the difficulty is to determine, who are meant by the term אנשעם *anusheem*, translated *the condemned*. Now, if the one clause of the Prophet accurately answers the other, it should seem to

* Tome V. p. 45.

mean those whose vineyards were seized by these idolaters, that had made usurious contracts with their poor brethren.

Nothing is more common with the Prophets, in their complaints against Israel, than the joining together the detaining of pledges and usury : Ezek. xviii. 8, 13, 17, are proofs of it. When they lent on usury, on failure of complying with their exorbitant demands, they were wont to seize on the lands and vineyards of those that were indebted to them. Neh. v. is a proof of this. The same chapter shews this course of procedure was esteemed, by the virtuous Jews, extremely cruel and oppressive, and is, I imagine, what Amos inveighs against here—the drinking in their idolatrous temples, the produce of those vineyards they had seized upon, and kept in their hands, because their usurious demands were not complied with : the original word, which signifies *mulcted*, may well be understood after this manner, as it means not only paying a penalty fixed by law, but being oppressed with an arbitrary exaction.*

“The wine of the condemned,” I should think rather an unhappy translation, as it leads the imagination to think of such an idolatrous feast as Ahab might have held with his lords, after having got possession of the vineyard of Naboth, unjustly condemned to death : a crime too atrocious, to be paired with the detaining and making use of valuable carpets left as a pledge in their hands. The

* Which appears from the use of the word, 2 Kings xxiii. 33. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

rendering it “ the wine of men punished by unjust fines,”* leads us to think of the injustice of courts of judicature, instead of the oppressions of common life, to which the other clause refers : not to say that pecuniary mulcts were to be given to the injured ; and if seized upon by the judge,† their being made use of for an idolatrous purpose would not easily appear, if they really were applied to that purpose ; while the drinking wine in a temple, by those who oppressively held the vineyards of other people in their hands, and used the wine produced by them for their drinking on all occasions, and consequently when they drank their own wine in an idolatrous temple, was apparent to every eye.

Especially if it was the new wine produced by these vineyards, which seems to have been the case when the men of Shechem went into a Heathen temple, and eat, and drank, and cursed Abimelech, according to a passage just now cited from the book of Judges. So Dr. Chandler, in his travels in Lesser Asia, could only obtain a few boiled eggs, some grapes, and bread, in one village ; while another furnished them with a dish of boiled wheat, some *must of wine*, with honey, but in a very small quantity.

* See the Bishop of Waterford’s Translation of the Minor Prophets.

† As is now frequently done, very unrighteously, in the East.

OBSERVATION IV.

Of the Pollutions practised among the Heathens, in their religious Transactions.

MUCH of the distinguishing spirit of a passage of St. Peter is lost, when it is understood as descriptive of the immoralities of common life; it is rather to be considered as giving an account of the polluted nature of what the Heathens called sacred transactions.

The words of St. Peter are, *For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquettings, and abominable idolatries.* 1 Ep. iv. 3.

Commentators have not been exact in distinguishing one species of sinfulness from another here, which yet must be highly requisite, when the faults of common life are supposed to be intended; nor do they seem to understand the passage as having reference to Gentile worship, except the last clause, "abominable idolatries." Whereas I should suppose, the five particulars are intended to point out those circumstances that made their idolatries more especially abominable. All idolatry is represented as undoubtedly wrong, *Thou shalt worship the LORD thy GOD, and him only shalt thou serve*, Matt. iv. 10. ; but setting aside the consideration of its being wrong in its own nature, it might have been conducted as to its circumstances,

agreeably enough—it might have been modest and solemn. It seems to be the impropriety of the circumstances attending their idolatries, which the apostle points out by the word *αθεμιτοις*, translated *abominable*, which word in the original, or a kindred term, is elsewhere translated unlawful,* and means what is abhorrent from propriety and becomingness, supposing the adoring the idol was in itself innocent.

If we should next set ourselves to consider what is precisely meant by the words here used, and which made their idolatries so detestable, independently of the evil of worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, I should suppose the first *πεπορευμενους εν ασελγειαις* means *lewd practices*, the second *επιθυμιας* *irritation of their voluptuous desires*, the next *οινοφλυγαις* *buffoonery*, the two last *κωμοις* and *ποτοις* *riotous und excessive eating and drinking*, which made their idolatries, which were otherwise wrong, still more detestable.

The third word I would more particularly endeavour to illustrate: it is *Οινοφλυγια*, translated in our version *excess of wine*, but should seem to mean *buffoonery through drinking too much wine*, if the words *φλυω* and *φλυζω*, from whence part of that compound word is derived, signify *to trifle*, *to play the buffoon*, as lexicographers tell us they do. All worship, and the conducting all matters supposed to be sacred, should be with solemnity.

To illustrate this I would here present my

* Acts x. 28.

reader with a passage of Maillet, who, after telling us that many traces of ancient Heathenism remain in Egypt, goes on to take notice of the ridiculousness of some of their present customs derived from that source. “ You can hardly imagine, Sir, how many traces of this ancient religion are still met with in Egypt, which have subsisted there for so many ages. In fact, without speaking of their passion for pilgrimages, which, notwithstanding its having changed its object, is nevertheless the same; the modern Egyptians have still the same taste for processions, that was remarked in their ancestors. There is perhaps no country in the world, where they are more frequent than here. All the difference that I find in the matter is, that the ancients practised them in honour of their idols, and that the Egyptians of our days perform them in honour of their santons, or saints, who are not much better. As to what remains, there is no regularity in these ceremonies, neither in their way of walking, nor in their vestments. Every one dresses himself as he likes; but those that are in the most grotesque, and most ridiculous habits, are always most esteemed. Some dance; others caper; some shout; in one word, the great point is who shall commit most follies in these extravagant masquerades. The more they do, the more they believe themselves possessed by the spirit of their prophet.”*

If this is a copy of the old Heathenish processions in honour of their idols, I think we may safely admit it to be a very exact explanation of the *Οινοφλυγίαι*

* Lett. x. p. 59, 60.

of St. Peter, and which made their idolatries, which were wrong in themselves, so much the more abhorrent from all propriety.

With regard to the first of those five things mentioned by the apostle, and which relates to *acts of lewdness*, often attending Heathen worship, a common Christian, unacquainted with the writings of the Greeks and Romans, may see what St. Peter meant, by reading a passage in the Apocrypha: “to pollute also the temple of Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and that in Garizim, of Jupiter the defender of strangers, as they did desire that dwelt in the place. The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people; for the temple was filled with riot and revelling, by the Gentiles, who *dallied with harlots*, and had to do with women within the circuit of the holy places; and besides that, brought in things that were not lawful. The altar also was filled with *profane* things which the law forbiddeth.” 2 Macc. vi. 2—5. Here we find obscene actions, and even whoredom, practised by the Gentiles, not directly to do dishonour to the temple of Jehovah; but in that structure after it was become the temple of Jupiter Olympius, consequently in his service.

The more refined morals and devotion of the Mohammedans will not permit of my producing remains of Heathenish worship, among them, entirely resembling this;* but as to the second

* The Mohammedans use a small carpet in their religious worship, for the purpose of prostrating themselves during the time of prayer. This is termed, سجاده *sejadeh*, and it ap-

(ἐπιθυμῖαι) which expresses such managements as tended to excite voluptuous desires, Maillet has given us a curious account of that article, in the representation he has given of modern Egyptian pilgrimages, derived from those of Heathen antiquity.

“ I ought not to forget here a singular usage, which was constantly practised in this kind of voyages.* In all the places, where festivals of this kind were held, and at which the pilgrims always arrived by water, as they could not otherwise get there,† it was the custom to have a mock fight, between those that wanted to disembark and those of the place, or at least of the boat-men who had already landed. On those occasions, they wet one another on the water’s edge: they tumbled one another into the Nile, from whence they came out soaked thoroughly with water; they treated one another at these times with much scurrilous language; until at length, after a pretty long struggle appears from a well known couplet in the poet *Hafez*, that this very *carpet* is made use of in their festive revelries; and they even glory in its being *stained* with the wine used in their mad computations.

بمي سجاده رنگين کن گرت پير مغان گوید
که سالک بيخبر نبود زراه و رسم منزلها

“ *Stain the sacred carpet with wine, if the master of the assembly commands thee, for a traveller is not ignorant of the ways and customs of taverns.*”

From which we learn, that it was even customary to employ their *sacred carpets* in their debaucheries.—EDIT.

* He is speaking of the ancient Egyptian water-pilgrimages.

† On account of their being celebrated in the time the Nile overflowed.

gle, in which the shirts and drawers were torn in pieces, the last-comers were always victorious over those that opposed their landing. This practice, observed generally in all those places of Egypt, where any of these festivals were celebrated, was very particularly in use at Canopus, where people went annually to visit a famous temple dedicated to Serapis. Whole troops of sailors were to be found there, who came thither on purpose to combat the inhabitants of that city, and, after having obtained the victory, to make some advantage of the liberality of the spectators. Historians assure us, that of all spectacles which were presented at this festival, people were most pleased with these skirmishes. The most famous combatants were commonly only in drawers of silk, and without a shirt ; so that when they seized hold of one another they soon tore these drawers in pieces, and became stark naked. This spectacle occasioned never-ending shouts. In the mean while, those that were reduced to this state took refuge in the water, while their adversaries made use of every method to force them out of it. After long combating, they without distinction presented themselves to all present with a basin in their hands. The women with one hand put in a piece of money, and were supposed to cover their eyes with the other. The men, at giving them money with one hand, had a right, by custom, to strike them with the other a severe blow with a bull's pizzle, with which they furnished themselves for this very purpose. The poor wretches oftentimes received a hundred

strokes to get a few halfpence, which they dearly earned.

To these festivals have since succeeded those of Sidy Ibrahim, of Sidy Hamet the Bedouin, and of many other Turkish santons, whose tombs are still visited every year with the same concourse of people, and nearly the same ceremonies. The oquelles of our days are used instead of the victualling boats of ancient times; and now, as formerly, the dancing women, with the men (that attend them,) are of the lowest class.”*

The men’s exposing their nudities in these combats tended to excite voluptuous desires in the women, and if these managements are now laid aside, as he only says, the visits paid to the tombs of the Turkish saints are with nearly the same ceremonies; yet we are sure the postures of the modern dancing women of the East are irritating to the last degree to the passions of the men, according to the complaint of many travellers; yet these, it seems, attend these Turkish devotions, derived from those of the ancient Heathens.

I am sorry that I have to add, that if the Heathens of the East, in the time of St. Peter, were surprised at finding that the converts to the Gospel would not *run to the same excess of riot* that they did, neither complying with the established religious ceremonies of their countrymen, nor adopting new objects of veneration, but retaining similar managements to their’s, he would have had but little cause

* Lett. ii. p. 81, 82.

for such a remark, had he lived in our times. "Coming to the church of the holy sepulchre," says Maundrell, speaking of the day in which the holy fire was expected to appear, "we found it crouded with a numerous and distracted mob, making a hideous clamour very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming Bacchanals than Christians. Getting with some struggle through this crowd, we went up into the gallery, on that side of the church next the Latin convent, whence we could discern all that passed in this religious frenzy.

"They began their disorders by running round the holy sepulchre with all their might and swiftness, crying out as they went *Huia*, which signifies *this is he*, or *this is it*; an expression by which they assert the verity of the Christian religion. After they had by these vertiginous circulations and clamours turned their heads, and inflamed their madness, they began to act the most antic tricks and postures, in a thousand shapes of distraction. Sometimes they dragged one another along the floor all round the sepulchre; and sometimes they set one man upright on another's shoulders, and in this posture marched round: sometimes they took men with their heels upwards, and hurried them about in such an indecent manner, as to expose their nudities; sometimes they tumbled round the sepulchre, after the manner of tumblers on the stage. In a word, nothing can be imagined more rude or extravagant, than what was acted upon this occasion."

He afterwards observes, that when the glimmering of the holy fire was seen through some chinks

of the door of the sepulchre, "certainly bedlam itself never saw such an unruly transport, as was produced in the mob at this sight."*

Such mad pranks would have been called by St. Peter *Οινοφλυγίαι*, (actions like those done by men distracted by excess of wine;) but, oh! how unbecoming the seriousness of the religion of JESUS, and the veneration they would be supposed to pay to the sacred sepulchre of our LORD!

OBSERVATION V.

Concerning the red painted Idols used by the ancient Heathens.

THE ancient Heathens were wont to paint their idols red: but we may be at a loss to guess why this colour should be chosen for a divinity, rather than another, and particularly why rather chosen than the natural colour of the human body.

Since they chose, in common, to give them a human form, one would have imagined they should rather have made the resemblance as complete as might be, and consequently painted them with the last mentioned colour. May we not conjecture that the practice of colouring them red arose originally from their being set up in memory of warriors, remarkable for shedding much blood? Such a conjecture seems to be favoured by an observation made by Niebuhr, which shall be recited under this article.

* Journey, p. 94, 95, 96.

That it was the custom of the Heathens to colour them *red*, in the East, is remarked by the author of the wisdom of Solomon, ch. xiii. 13, 14. The carpenter “carved it diligently when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man ; or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermillion, and with paint, colouring it red, and covering every spot therein.”

As they covered them with purple raiment,* the dress of royalty, agreeably enough to their known character of being the deified representations of deceased kings ; they might, in like manner, besmear them with red paint, on account of their being images of dead warriors, who had been often besmeared with blood.

This thought was suggested by what Niebuhr has said, concerning an Indian festival,† in which they are said “to rub their clothes, their faces, and their hands, with yellow and red, in memory of the clothes of the hero of that solemnity’s being coloured with blood, and those of his attendants, in a battle they at that time commemorate. The Indians at that time run about the streets with their hands daubed with proper materials of these colours, and also syringes full of liquids of the same dyes, which they apply to those of their religion ; and nobody pretends to wipe off these spots, since another would come in an instant and renew them.”

Is it then unnatural to suppose red was used at

* Baruch vi. 12.

† Voyages, Tome II. p. 22.

first, on the account of their images being set up in remembrance of princes who were great warriors, and deified on account of their success in war? Later painters have drawn angels in white, as a natural mode of expressing heavenly purity; and I cannot think of a more natural reason to be assigned for the painting the deities of the Heathens red, than that I have proposed, deduced from this East Indian solemnity.

From deified warriors the colour might come to be applied to idols of every kind, and to be considered as having something godlike in it.

But however that be, these Indians of the coast of Malabar, that daub themselves and their countrymen with yellow and red, in a solemnity that commemorates a great victory of one of their heroes, daub, in like manner, their deities with that colour: so Niebuhr informs us, in the same volume,* that he found a chapel in the great pagoda, or Indian temple which he visited, which is the only part of it which the Indians at present make use of, and that he found not only two figures there, of human shape with an elephant's head,† lately rubbed with red colouring; but some heaps of rough unshaped stones also, which probably represented some subaltern divinity, or some hero or saint, for such are often found at Bombay upon the highway, and especially under certain trees, that the Indians look upon to be sacred.

* P. 32.

† This was the Hindoo god *Pollear*, who presides over marriages, and to whom all newly erected buildings are dedicated.

—EDIT.

The custom then the apocryphal writer mentions, seems to be of great extent among the Heathen, and used not only as far as Babylon, but much farther, whether it arose from the cause I have been assigning, or some other.

Nor were sacred figures in human shape only thus adorned, or of beasts, which this apocryphal writer mentions, but heaps of unhewn stones in like manner, which are supposed to be representatives of some being which they were disposed to worship.

The passage in Arnobius, quoted by the very learned Grotius, in his comment on this passage of the Apocrypha,* is cited with great propriety to illustrate that clause, which mentions the sacred images of beasts being painted by the Heathen, since Arnobius is speaking of the sacred heads of lions, whose consecrated busts, it seems, were thus coloured. That is clear and incontrovertible in general; though the learned seem to be very much puzzled, distinctly to explain what these lions' heads were designed to represent;† and Arnobius himself, who lived so many years back, and in the countries where these objects of worship were to be seen, seems not to have known, with precision, what they were designed to point out.

I cannot, by any means, adopt the sentiment

* *Adver. Gentes*, Lib. vi. p. 196, ed. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

† *Vide Desid. Heraldi Animad.* in Arnob. p. 242, *ib.* Whether modern antiquarians have made these lions' heads the subject of their more successful disquisitions I do not know.

of the learned Gebhartus Elmenhorstius,* who (citing a passage from Pliny's Natural History, in which he observes, that it was the custom on festival days to paint the face of the image of Jupiter with minium) seems to suppose, that the painting Arnobius refers to was of the same kind. As they were water-colours, that the ancients made use of, they must of course be liable to be washed off, or at least to fade in the moist air of a temple; and the cheeks were, therefore, repainted from time to time, to give the statue something more of the appearance of life; just, as I remember, Dr. Richard Chandler tells us, in his Travels through Greece,† he saw a child lay dead, dressed, its hair powdered, the face painted, and farther bedecked with leaf-gold. This was visibly to remove the ghastliness of death as much as possible, and to comfort the afflicted mother with something of the appearance of life, and of its preceding beauty. But this could not be any part of the intention of painting the face of a lion with minium, which Arnobius speaks of; that was not its natural colour.

* Observ. ad. Arnob. *ibid.* p. 176.

† P. 300.

OBSERVATION VI.

Of the curious Addition at the End of the Book of Joshua, in the Septuagint Version.

THERE is a remarkable addition in the Septuagint to the sacred history concerning Joshua, which deserves attention, and naturally engages the mind to enquire, whether it was made by these Egyptian translators of the Jewish Scriptures, in conformity to what they knew was practised in the burials of Egypt ; or whether it was, on that account, expunged by the Jewish critics from the Hebrew original.

The Vatican copy of the Septuagint has given us this addition to the account that appears in the Hebrew copies, of the interment of Joshua, in the 30th verse of the xxivth chapter of that book which bears his name : *There they put with him, into the sepulchre in which they buried him, the knives of flint with which he circumcised the children of Israel in Gilgal, when he brought them out of Egypt, as the LORD commanded them ; and they are there unto this day.**

On the contrary, the famous Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, and some others, have not these clauses.

* Εκει εθηκαν μετ' αυτου εις το Μνημα εις ο εθαψαν αυτον εκει τας μαχαϊρας τας πετρινας, εν αις περιετεμε τες υιοι Ισραηλ εν Γαλγαλοις, οτε εξηγαγεν αυτους Αιγυπτου, καθα συνεταξεν. αυτοις Κυριος· και εκει εισιν εως της σημερον ημερας.

Whether this superadded account is spurious, or not, there seems to be a manifest allusion to the manner in which the ancient Egyptians were wont to bury their dead.

Maillet, in his papers, informs us, " that some time before he wrote, the principal person of Sacara, a village near to the plain where the mummies lie buried, caused some of these subterraneous vaults to be opened ; and as he was very much my friend, he communicated to me various curiosities, a great number of mummies, of wooden figures, and inscriptions in hieroglyphical and unknown characters, which were found there. In one of these vaults they found, for instance, the coffin and embalmed body of a woman, before which was placed a figure of wood, representing a youth on his knees, laying a finger on his mouth, and holding in his other hand a sort of chafing dish, which was placed on his head, and in which, without doubt, had been some perfumes. This youth had divers hieroglyphical characters on his stomach. They broke this figure in pieces, to see if there was no gold inclosed in it. There was found in the mummy, which was opened in like manner for the same reason, a small vessel, about a foot long, filled with the same kind of balsam with that made use of to preserve bodies from corruption. Perhaps this might be a mark by which they distinguished those persons who had been employed in embalming the dead."*

He goes on : " I caused another mummy to be

* *Descr. de l'Egypte*, p. 277, 278.

opened, which was the body of a female, and which had been given me by the *Sieur Bagarry*. It was opened in the house of the capuchin fathers of this city.*—This mummy had its right hand placed upon its stomach ; and under this hand were found the strings of a (musical) instrument, perfectly well preserved. From hence I should conclude, that this was the body of a person that used to play on this instrument, or at least of one that had a great taste for music. I am persuaded, that if every mummy were examined with the like care, we should find some sign or other by which the character of the party would be known."

The burying of those knives of flints with Joshua must have been done, or supposed to have been done, as a mark of an event the most remarkable of his life, in conformity to the Egyptian modes of distinguishing the dead by tokens of a similar nature.

Whether I have been right in it, or not, I cannot say ; but I have been sometimes inclined to conjecture, that the enjoining Joshua to make use of flints for the purpose of circumcising, at a time when the manufacturing of iron and brass was not unknown,† might be derived from the customs of Egypt. They that have given an account of the Egyptian way of embalming, tell us, it was an *Æthiopian* stone, called *basaltes*, that was used for opening the body to be embalmed, by which em-

* Grand Cairo.

† See Gen. iv. 22.

balming it acquired a sort of immortality.* In this view might he not be enjoined to use a like kind of knives for the circumcising the Israelites, which circumcision the Jews of after times, at least, looked upon as a token and pledge of their resurrection from the dead, never to return to corruption? The precept to use knives of this kind might be intended to give some expectation of this nature. The hope of a resurrection from the dead seems to have been no stranger to the breast of Job,† whose story, it is commonly believed, was written before Joshua assumed the government of the Jewish people.‡

At worst it is not the most improbable supposition that ever was formed.

OBSERVATION VII.

Mourners in ancient Times not only laid aside their Ornaments, but put off their outer Garments.

THE Septuagint, in their translation, suppose that the children of Israel not only laid aside their ear-rings, and such like ornaments, in a time of professed deep humiliation before God, but their upper or more beautiful garments too. Moses says nothing of this last circumstance; but as it is a modern practice, so it appears by their version to

* Greenhill, p. 251.

† Job xix. 25, 26, 27.

‡ For it is apprehended that it was written by Moses.

have been as ancient as their time, and probably took place long before that.

The passage I refer to is in the xxxiiid of Exodus (verse 4—6) *When the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned : and no man did put on him his ornaments. For the LORD had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiff-necked people : I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee : therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee. And the children of Israel stript themselves of their ornaments, by the mount Horeb.*

The Septuagint give us this as the translation of the passage,* in the Text, “ The people having heard this sad declaration, mourned with lamentations. And the LORD said unto the children of Israel Now therefore put off your robes of glory, and your ornaments, and I will shew you the things I will do unto thee. And the children of Israel put off their *ornaments* and robes by the mount Horeb.”

If it had not been the custom to put off their upper garments, in times of deep mourning, in the days that the Septuagint translation was made, they would not have inserted this circumstance in the account Moses gives of their mourning, and concerning which he was silent. They must have

* Και ακουσας ο λαος το ρημα το πονηρον τετο, κατεπενθησαν εν πενθικοις. Και ειπε Κυριος τοις υιοις Ισραηλ,—νυν ουν αφελεσθε τας ΣΤΟΛΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΞΩΝ υμων, και τον Κοσμον, και δειξω σοι α ποιησω σοι. Και περιειλαντο οι υιοι Ισραηλ τον κοσμον αυτων, και την σολην απο τε Ορης τε Χωρηβ. Edit. Complut.

supposed too, that this practice might be in use in those elder times.

That it is now practised in the East, appears from the account Pitts gives of the ceremonies of the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca. "A few days after this, we came to a place called Rabbock, about four days' sail on this side of Mecca, where all the haggas, or pilgrims, (excepting those of the female sex) do enter into *hirrawen*, or *ihram*, i. e. they take off all their clothes, covering themselves with two *hirrawems*, or large white cotton wrappers; one they put about their middle, which reaches down to their ancles; the other they cover the upper part of their body with, except the head; and they wear no other thing on their bodies but these wrappers, only a pair of *gimgameea*, that is *thin-soled shoes* like sandals, the over-leather of which covers only the toes, their insteps being all naked. In this manner, like humble penitents, they go from Rabbock until they come to Mecca, to approach the temple; many times enduring the scorching heat of the sun, until the very skin is burnt off their backs and arms, and their heads swollen to a very great degree." P. 115, 116.

Presently after he informs us, "that the time of their wearing this mortifying habit is about the space of seven days." Again (p. 138.) "It was a sight indeed able to pierce one's heart, to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears; and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins, promising newness of life, using a

form of penitential expressions; and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours."

The Septuagint suppose the Israelites made much the same appearance as these Mohammedan pilgrims, when Israel stood in anguish of soul at the foot of mount Horeb, though Moses says nothing of putting off any of their vestments.

Some passages of the Jewish Prophets seem to confirm the notion of their stripping themselves of some of their clothes in times of deep humiliation, particularly Micah i. 8.: *Therefore I will wail and howl; I will go stript and naked: I will make a wailing like the dragons, and mourning as the owls.*

Saul's stripping himself, mentioned 1 Sam. xix. 24, is perhaps to be understood of his assuming the appearance of those that were deeply engaged in devotional exercises, into which he was unintentionally brought by the prophetic influences that came upon him, and in which he saw others engaged.

OBSERVATION VIII.

Of the Canopies used about Beds in the East.

An accident led me into a train of thought, relating to that piece of furniture the Romans called a *canopeum*, and which is said to denote a canopy or pavilion made of net-work, which hung about beds, and was designed to keep away gnats, which are sometimes insupportably troublesome to the

more delicate. I recollected that it is at this time used in the East ; and that if it may be supposed to have obtained so early there as the time of king Saul, it may very happily illustrate a passage of Scripture, of which our commentators have given a very unsatisfactory account.

The passage I refer to is in the first book of Samuel, ch. xix. 12—17. *So Michal let David down through a window ; and he went, and fled, and escaped. And Michal took an image, (התרפים ha Terapheem) and laid it in the bed, and put (כביר העזים kebeer ha azzeem) a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster, and covered it with a cloth. And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she said, He is sick. And Saul sent the messengers again to see David, saying, Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him. And when the messengers were come in, behold, there was an image in the bed, with a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster. And Saul said unto Michal, Why hast thou deceived me so, and sent away mine enemy that he is escaped ?**

* Our translators followed the reading of the Vulgate *pulvinar*, in translating כביר *kebeer*, a *pillow*. Of this word Parkhurst says, it is a kind of Mosquito net, which, according to Dr. Shaw, *is a close curtain of gauze or fine linen, used all over the East by people of better fashion to keep out the flies*. And that they had such anciently cannot be doubted. Thus when Judith had beheaded Holofernes in the bed, she pulled down the Mosquito net, το Κωυυπτειον, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness, from the pillars. Judith xiii. 9—15. The reader will observe, that our English term *canopy* comes from the Greek word Κωυυπτειον, from Κωυυψ, a *gnat*, because it was used as a defence against those insects.—EDIT.

I should suppose a canopeum, or guard against gnats, is what is meant by the word translated a *pillow of goats' hair*. I cannot conceive what deception could arise from the pillow being stuffed with goats' hair, or for making a truss of goats' hair serve for a pillow. This last must have been, on the contrary, very disagreeable to a sick man; especially one who, having married a princess, must be supposed to have been in possession of the agreeable accommodations of life, such at least as were used at that time, and in that country. A piece of fine net-work to guard him from gnats, and other troublesome insects that might disturb the repose of a sick man, was extremely natural, if the use of them was as early as the days of Saul. It is in one place translated a *thick cloth*, in another, a *sieve*; now a cloth of a nature fit to use for a sieve, is just such a thing as I am supposing—a fine net-work or gauze-like cloth. Here it is translated a *pillow*, but for no other reason, but because it appeared to be something relating to the head;* but a canopeum relates to the head as well as a pillow, being a canopy suspended over the whole bed, or at least so far as to surround the head, and such upper part of the body as might be uncovered.

Modern canopies of this nature may be of other materials: they may be of silk or thread: but goats' hair was in great use in those earlier ages, and may be imagined to have been put to this use in those

* Our translators have even taken occasion, from one thing relating to the head, to mention both *pillow* and *bolster*.

times, as our modern sieves still continue frequently to be made of the hair of animals.

After this preparatory remark, I would produce a proof, that this kind of defence against gnats is used in the East. “ Among the hurtful animals that Egypt produces,” says Maillet, “ those that we call gnats ought not to be forgotten. If their size prevents all apprehensions of dangerous accidents from them, their multitudes make them insupportable. The Nile water, which remains in the canals and the lakes, into which it makes its way every year, produces such a prodigious quantity of these insects, that the air is often darkened by them. The night-time is that in which people are most exposed to receive punctures from them ; and it is with a view to guard themselves from them, that they sleep so much here on the tops of their houses, which are flat-roofed. These terraces are paved with square flat stones, very thin ; and as in this country they have no apprehensions from rain or fogs, they are wont to place their beds on these roofs every night, in order to enjoy their repose more undisturbedly and coolly, than they could any where else. Gnats seldom rise so high in the air. The agitation of the air at that height is too much for them ; they cannot bear it. However, for greater precaution, persons of any thing of rank never fail to have a tent set up in these terraces, in the midst of which is suspended a pavilion of fine linen, or of gauze, which falls down to the ground, and incloses the mattress. Under the shelter of this pavilion, which the people of the country call *namousie*, from the word *namous*, which in their

language signifies *fly*, (or *gnat*) people are secured against these insects, not only on the terraces, but every where else. If they were to make use of them in Europe, I do not doubt that people who sleep in the day-time, and above all the sick, would find the advantage of them; for it must be acknowledged, that in summer-time those small insects, which introduce themselves into all places, are insupportable to people that would take their repose, and much more so to those who are ill.”*†

No curious carved statue, which indeed one can hardly imagine was to be found in the house of David, was necessary; any thing formed in a tolerable resemblance of the body of a man was sufficient for this deception, covered over with the coverlet belonging to the mattress on which it was laid, and where the head should have been placed, being covered all over with a pavilion of goats' hair, through which the eye could not penetrate. A second visit, with a more exact scrutiny, discovered the artifice.

There is another passage in which the word occurs, and in the same sense. It is in the account the historian gives us, of a real cause of the death of Ben-hadad, the king of Syria, 2 Kings viii. 15. : *And it came to pass on the morrow, that he took a thick cloth, and dipt it in water, and spread it over his face, so that he died : and Hazael reigned in*

* Descript. de l' Egypte, Lett. ix. p. 37.

† Fine nets are hung round beds in some of the fenny counties in England, as a defence against the gnats, which in those places are exceedingly troublesome, so as wholly to prevent a person from sleeping.—EDIT.

his stead. If Hazael stifled him, why all this parade? the drawing the pillow from under his head, and clapping it over his mouth, would have been sufficient. Why the procuring a thick cloth, according to our translators? why the dipping it in water?

It is the same word כִּבֵּר *kebeer*, with that in Samuel; and, it is reasonable therefore to suppose, means the same thing, a gnat-pavilion. The dipping it in water may well be supposed to be under the pretence of coolness and refreshment.

So Pitts tells us, that the people of Mecca “do usually sleep on the tops of the houses for the air, or in the streets before their doors. Some lay the small bedding they have on a thin mat on the ground; others have a slight frame, made much like drink stalls, on which we place barrels, standing on four legs, corded with palm cordage, on which they put their bedding. Before they bring out their bedding, they sweep the streets, and water them. As for my own part, I usually lay open, without any bed covering, on the top of the house; only I took a linen-cloth, dipt in the water, and after I had wrung it, covered myself with it in the night: and when I awoke, I should find it dry; then I would wet it again; and thus I did two or three times in a night.”*

In like manner Niebuhr tells us, in his description of Arabia,† that “as it is excessively hot, in the summer-time, on the eastern shore of the Persian gulf, and they do not find that the dew there is

* Pitts’s account, p. 123, 124.

† P. 9.

unwholesome, they sleep commonly in the open air." He goes on, "in the island of Charedsj I never enjoyed my repose better than when the dew moistened my bed in the night."

Hazael then had a fair pretence to offer to moisten the gnat-pavilion, (if Ben-hadad did not himself desire it,) on the account of his extreme heat, which might prove the occasion of his death, while the distemper itself was not mortal. Whether the moisture of that piece of furniture proved at that time destructive, from the nature of the disease ; or whether Hazael stifled him with it ; we are not told by the historian, and therefore cannot pretend absolutely to determine. Conjecture is not likely to be very favourable to Hazael.

OBSERVATION IX.

Of the Presents made by David to the People, on his bringing Home the Ark.

NOTHING can be more natural, than the representation given by our translation of the royal and sacred feast David made, on occasion of his bringing the ark of God into a tent he had prepared for it, in the city in which he had chosen to reside, which is described in 2 Sam. vi. 19. : *He dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women, as to every one, a cake of bread ; and a good piece (of flesh ;) and a flagon (of wine ;) so all the people departed,*

every one to his house. For all this is agreeable to what must be supposed to have happened on such a solemn occasion. It is surprising, on the contrary, that the Septuagint version should represent the royal donative as consisting merely of different kinds of bread, or at least farinaceous preparations of the bread and cake kind.

The presents daily made to Dr. Chandler and his associates, by the Greeks of Athens, and described by him* as consisting of flowers, (sometimes perfumed,) of pomegranates, oranges and lemons fresh gathered, pastry, and other like articles. But very different, sure ! would the presents of king David be to his people, on so solemn an occasion, and when so many of them were from home, and of course scantily provided. Would he have confined himself to a little pastry, when so many animals were sacrificed ; though the poor oppressed † Greeks of Athens might present nothing else of any consequence ?

Leavened bread, and three sorts of unleavened, might be made use of on this occasion.‡ The greatest part of the flesh also of the peace-offerings was to be eaten by the offerer,§ and those whom he thought fit to make partakers with him of the repast, and was wont to be eaten in private houses ;|| but when represented as a thanksgiving, as these peace-offerings were, they were to be eaten in the day they were offered, and not to be

* Trav. in Greece, p. 132, 133.

† P. 119.

‡ See Lev. vii. 11, &c.

§ In the same chapter.

|| Prov. vii. 14, 15.

kept so long as the next.* Other peace-offerings might be kept to the second day, but no longer.† The number of the peace-offerings, on occasions of this sort, was, at other times, extremely large, as we learn from 2 Chron. vii. 5, 7.; and must have been many under such a zealous prince as David. Great numbers must then, in consequence, have been partakers of this sacred flesh; and that all that attended should receive a good piece of flesh, as large as it could be reasonably expected each would consume, in the limited time, considering the universal abstemiousness of those hot countries, is what it is natural to suppose the historian designed to express.

It is so natural, that Josephus, who adopted the Septuagint translation of 2 Sam. vi. 19., and consequently supposes three different kinds of bread were given to each person, yet could not forbear adding a piece of sacred flesh to the royal donation,‡ though nothing of that sort appears in that translation; the nature of the feast forced him to that supplement. If he found himself so strongly impelled to make that addition, surely it must be reasonable to suppose it was mentioned originally by the Prophet that wrote this history.

The vulgar Latin, accordingly, supposes that flesh was given by David in this sacred feast, and that it was the sense of one of the three clauses made use of in the Hebrew original, though it sup-

* Lev. vii. 15.

† Lev. vii. 16, 17.

‡ Διαδους κολλουριδα αρτου εσχαρατην και λαχανον τηγανισον και ΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΘΥΜΑΤΟΣ.—Antiq. lib. vii. c. 4.

poses the other two signify different preparations of the bread kind ; *partitus est universæ multitudini Israel, tàm viro quàm mulieri, singulis collyridam panis unam, et assaturam bubulæ carnis unam, et similam frixam oleo.*

It is as reasonable, though neither Josephus, nor the vulgar Latin, takes any notice of it, to suppose David gave the people wine as well as bread and flesh.

In eating their peace-offerings they were to rejoice before the LORD ;* it is natural to suppose, then, there was wine in those sacred feasts of joy, to be drank in such quantities as suited a joyous solemnity—Not used sparingly, nor yet so as to disturb the understanding, or unfit the soul for devout exercises of praise.

This is confirmed by what is said concerning Elkanah and his family, when they went up yearly to sacrifice to the LORD : he gave them all portions of the sacred meat ; to one of his family whom he more dearly loved, a worthy or more delicious portion ; and wine was commonly also used, since the highpriest thought Hannah was drunken, on occasion of this feast. 1 Sam. i. 3, 4, 5, 9, 13.

How it came to pass that the historian made use of words different from that used to express portions of meat, both on other joyful occasions, as Neh. viii. 10, 13. Esth. ix. 19, 22. and on those too that were sacred, 1 Sam. x. 3. Exod. xxix. 40, &c. ; how it happened that persons so well skilled in the Hebrew, as to be concerned in translating the Old

* Deut. xxvii. 7.

Testament into Greek, should not understand the true meaning of the words; what should be the cause of their translating them so differently in different books; or translating them at all, since sometimes they give the Hebrew words in Greek letters; and what the words in the original, *וַאֲשֵׁשָׁה וַאֲשַׁפָּר* *ve asheeshah, ve eshappar* which we translate *a good piece of flesh and a flagon of wine*, precisely signify; and what the proofs of their so signifying: are questions of considerable curiosity, and may occasion a good deal of amusement, but which I will not take upon me wholly to examine.

I cannot however forbear observing, that the Rabbinical notion, that the word we translate *a good piece of flesh*, signifies the *sixth part of an animal*,* must be a very idle one, since a peace-offering of thanksgiving was to have been eaten up the first day: to what purpose then would it have been to give every person a sixth part of a sacrificed animal, when a great deal less would have been as much as each could have consumed in the limited time?†

* See Buxtorf's Epitome, art. *אֲשַׁפָּר* *eshappar*, where he tells us, the ancient Hebrews understood it to signify the sixth part of a bullock: Prisci Hebræorum sapientes explicarunt quasi ex tribus vocabulis compositum, nempe unum ex sextâ bovis, id est, sexta pars bovis.

† Sixty persons, Maillet tells us, will make a good repast (*un juste repas* are his words) with twenty-five pounds of rice and a sheep. See the eleventh letter of his Description of Egypt. A sheep then would be sufficient, with a proper quantity of bread, for thirty people, allowing them twice a day to

But though the word cannot be understood, I think, to signify, that David gave to each person the sixth part of an animal that had been presented to God in sacrifice; yet, perhaps, this Rabbinical tradition may lead to the true explanation of the word. Maillet affirms, that a sheep, with a proper quantity of rice, which answers the purpose of bread very frequently in the East, will furnish a good repast for sixty people. If now the people of the Jewish army were divided into tens, as it seems they were, who might mess together, and lodge under one and the same tent, as is highly probable, from every tenth man's being appointed to fetch, or prepare, provision for his fellow-soldiers, according to what we read, Judges xx. 10,* then the sixth part of a sheep would be sufficient for the men at one repast, and be sufficient for one mess or tent of soldiers; and from this particular case it may come to signify, in general, a sufficient portion for each person, which indeed seems to be the meaning of our translators, when they render the word a *good piece of flesh*—enough for an ample repast.

As for the bread, which the Septuagint translators suppose, very improbably, was all that the royal bounty furnished the people with on this joyful solemnity, understanding the three words of three different sorts of the bread kind, it is ob-

eat of it. A much smaller part of a bullock than a sixth for each person would, therefore, be sufficient.

* See Vol. III. Observation lxiv. p. 418.

servable, that they do not agree in their way of translating the terms made use of in the Hebrew original. In the translation of the second of Samuel according to the Vatican copy, they say David distributed to each of the people

Κολλυριδα Αρτε, a cake of bread ;

Εσχαριτην, a roasting piece of beef ;

Λαγανον απο Τηγανε, a cake from the frying-pan ;

that is, three sorts of bread, or farinaceous preparations, distinguished by these three names. Nor does Lambert Bos give any account of any copy's differing in this representation ; but in their translation of the first of Chron. xvi. 3., David distributed to each person present at the solemnity,

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Αρτον ενα Αρτοκο-} \\ \text{πικον και Αμοριτην} \end{array} \right\}$	<p>according to the Vatican copy ; but</p>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Χεχαρ Αρτε} \\ \text{Λαγανον τηγα-} \\ \text{νε και Κολλυ-} \\ \text{ριτην} \end{array} \right.$	<p>accord- ing to the Complu- tensian.</p>
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Strange variations these ! Though they agree in both places, as to the Vatican copy, that only bread was given, yet translating the words by different Greek terms, in the two parallel places ; and, according to the Complutensian copy, not venturing to translate the first Hebrew word כִּיכָר *kikar*, but merely changing the Hebrew letters into Greek χεχαρ. This shews how little they understood, even in those ancient times, the certain meaning of those words, or those that from time to time undertook to make emendations, by altering the original words of that translation.

But not to dwell on these variations. A כֶּכָר *kikkar* of bread, which is the first word of the three used by the sacred writer of the book of Chronicles, and which word is that the Greek translators of the Septuagint, according to the Complutensian copy, would not venture to translate, was what was given to the Prophet Jeremiah, when he was delivered from the dungeon, and treated with some regard, as alone sufficient food for a day, in that time of affliction,* and consequently, with meat, might well be esteemed, even by the devout generosity of David himself, sufficient for this day of rejoicing; if one of these words relate to meat, of which I can have little doubt, when I consider the multitude of peace-offerings the Jewish princes were wont to offer on solemn occasions. A liberal portion then of meat, we may believe, was given every person, abundantly sufficient for a joyous repast, but not extravagantly large, which would have been perfectly vain, as every one received a portion; and it was sacred meat, which, according to the Mosaic ritual, might not be long kept.

The other part of this royal and sacred donation was, according to our translation, a *flagon of wine* to each. I suppose, a *gourd full of wine* is meant.

The shells of gourds are used to this day, in the Eastern parts of the world, for holding quantities of wine for present spending, and particularly in sacred festivals. So when Dr. Richard

* Jer. xxxvii. 21.

Chandler was about leaving Athens, he tells us, he supped at the Custom-house, where "the Archon* had provided a gourd of choice wine, and one of the crew excelled on the lyre."† And describing a panegyris, or general sacred assembly of the Greeks in the Lesser Asia, he informs us, "that the church was only stones piled up for walls, without a roof, and stuck on this solemnity with wax-candles lighted, and with small tapers; and that, after fulfilling their religious duties, it is the custom of the Greeks to indulge in festivity; at which time he found the multitude sitting under half-tents, with a store of melons and grapes, besides lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provision.‡

What the size of the gourds which anciently grew in that country was, or what that of those that are now found there, may not be quite certain;§ but I doubt not but that a gourd full of wine, for each person, was abundantly sufficient for a joyousness that required attention to temperance.

I could not but take notice, with some degree of pleasure, (as to the word *flagon* used in our translation,) after Dr. Chandler had led me to think of *gourds* as what might be meant by the original, that I found upon consulting Lemery's account of the gourd,|| and particularly of the

* A chief Greek magistrate there.

† Trav. in Greece, p. 207. ‡ Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 44.

§ De Vitriaco describes them as larger than the head of an ass, Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1099.

|| Dictionnaire des Drogues, art. Cucurbita.

third species, that he tells us, "it is shaped like a bottle having a strait neck, and the belly large:" after which he adds, "they cultivate them in gardens; their fruit is good to eat, when properly prepared; they also use them for *flagons*, after having emptied them, and caused them to be dried." He uses that very French word from which our English word *flagons* is evidently derived.*

After this account, perhaps, it may appear quite unnecessary to have recourse to the Chaldee sense of the original word *ששן asheeshey*, used Isaiah xvi. 7., and there translated in our version *foundations*. It may probably as well be rendered *gourds* there, since the rest of the paragraph relates not so much to the ruining strong places by war, as the destruction of the fruits of the earth by an unkindly season: "The fields of Heshbon languish, and the vine of Sibmah—Therefore I will bewail, with the weeping of Jazer, the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh: for the shouting for thy summer-fruits and for thy harvest is fallen, and gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field: and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting: the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage-shouting to cease. Wherefore my bowels shall sound for Moab like a harp." After reading this I would ask, whether it be not as natural to read the seventh verse after this manner, "Every one

* Flaccon.

shall howl: for the gourds of Kirhareseth shall ye mourn; surely they are stricken;" as to read, "for the foundations of Kirhareseth shall ye mourn?" Gourds are mentioned by Dr. Russell, (in his account of the food of the people of Aleppo,) of various kinds, and among the rest the *cucurbita lagenaria*, or bottle-like gourd;* and they might very probably be of still more importance in the days of antiquity, when several of the vegetables that are now used among them, and preferred to gourds, were unknown. Kirhareseth is particularly mentioned, as being most famous for producing gourds, in the country of Moab, as Sibmah was for vines.

It may not be very much amiss to add, that the interpretation that supposes the donative of king David consisted of flesh and wine, as well as bread, is not agreeable to the nature of the solemnity, in which so many sacrifices were slain, but was in other respects so natural, that, among the old Romans, when sums of money were left to celebrate their birth-days, in after times, out of the profits arising from those legacies, it was by distributing among such and such people, meat, bread, and wine. An inscription, recording such a gift, is said to be at Spoleto.†

* P. 25.

† See a note of Lindebrogius, on Act I, scene 1, of the Phormio of Terence, of the *Variorum* edition; where the particular words made use of to express the meat, the bread, and the wine, deserve the attention of the curious—*Epulum*, *crustum*, or *crustulum*, and *mulsum*.

OBSERVATION X.

Presents interchanged among royal Personages in the East.

KING Solomon, it is said, 1 Kings x. 13., gave unto the Queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, besides that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty : so she turned, and went to her own country. This appears strange to us ; but is perfectly agreeable to modern Eastern usages, which are allowed to be derived from remote antiquity.

A reciprocal giving and receiving royal gifts has nothing in it strange ; but the supposition of the sacred historian, that this Arabian queen *asked* for some things she saw in the possession of king Solomon, is what surprises us. However, the practice is very common to this day in the East—it is not there looked upon as any degradation to dignity, or any mark of rapacious meanness.

Irwin's publication* affords many instances of such a custom, among very considerable people, both in Arabia and Egypt, though not equal in power to the queen that visited king Solomon. They demanded, from time to time, such things as they saw, and which happened to please them : arms, vestments, &c. What the things were that so struck the Queen of Sheba, as that she

* Voyage up the Red Sea, and Route through the Deserts of Thebais.

asked for them, and which Solomon did not before apprehend would be particularly pleasing to her, the sacred historian has not told us, nor can we pretend to guess.

Many other travellers have mentioned this custom, and shewn that the great people of that country not only expect presents, but will directly, and without circumlocution, ask for what they have a mind to have, and expect that their requisitions should be readily complied with; while, with us, it would be looked on as extremely mean, and very degrading to an exalted character.

OBSERVATION XI.

Great Men in the East often take from their Officers those Gifts which the latter receive from the Bounty of others.

THERE is shameful meanness practised at this time in the East, which I suppose is of ancient date, and indeed referred to by the wise son of Sirach;* and that is, when they in a somewhat superior station seize on the gifts given to those that are below them, by persons of liberality, and appropriate to themselves the bounties given by others.

The words of the book of Ecclesiasticus are, *Be ashamed—to turn away thy face from thy kinsman, or to take away a portion or a gift.*

* Ecclus. xli. 21.

The explanation of this particular of the list of those things that may justly cause shame, is contained, I think, in the following account of the Baron de Tott's passing the river Pruth, in his way to Tartary.

He describes that stream as dangerous to pass; that his conductor who was a *tchoadar*, or officer of a Turkish Pasha, had, by the assistance of his whip, assembled three hundred Moldavians, and had employed them all night to form a raft of the branches of trees, for the passing over de Tott's carriage, which, at the risque of their lives, they effected. He then goes on,* “It may easily be imagined Ali Aga† was triumphant, and that I did not depart without giving some five or six guineas to the workmen; but what may not so readily be supposed, and what I had not foreseen myself, was, that my conductor, ever attentive to all my actions, and most trifling gestures, stayed some time behind to reckon with these unfortunate labourers, concerning the small salary they had received.”

De Tott speaks of this as a piece of meanness he had no conception of: the son of Sirach teaches us, that the taking away of a gift, bestowed on those in lower life, is a piece of conduct of which men may and ought to be ashamed; and I believe every soul that reads this article will allow they both are in the right.

It would certainly have been equally wrong,

* Tome II. p. 14, &c.

† The name of the *tchoadar*, his conductor.

and to be ashamed of, had the Baron given them provisions instead of money, if Ali Aga had taken away any man's portion, or abridged it contrary to the design of de Tott. Such would have been the light in which Melzar's management would have been to be viewed, had it taken its rise from avarice, and not from the desire of the parties concerned themselves, when he took away the portion of royal meat, and the portion of wine, which Nebuchadnezzar had ordered to be given to Daniel and his companions, and gave them pulse to eat, instead of meat from the royal table, and water to drink instead of wine, of which we read Dan. i. 8.—16.

OBSERVATION XII.

People in the East use Music more frequently, and on more ordinary Occasions, than those in other Countries.

MUSIC is by no means unknown in our country; but as in other respects the inhabitants of the East discover more vivacity, so they use music in more cases than we are wont to; and this remark may serve to explain the ground of some ancient customs.

When Dr. Chandler was at Aiasaluck, a place that has been often taken for the ancient Ephesus, and which certainly is very near it, they employed a couple of Greek peasants to pile up stones, to

serve as a ladder against a place they wanted to examine, and having occasion for another after that, to dig; and sending for one to the Stadium, under the ruins of which many of them dwelt, “the whole tribe, ten or twelve, followed; one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre, and at times striking the sounding-board with the fingers of the left hand, in concert with the strings. One of them had on a pair of sandals of goat-skins, laced with thongs. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front.”*

If a common march, to satisfy curiosity, is among this lively people preceded by music, it can be no wonder to find the Jews, when they went up with solemnity to the house of God, were wont to have music playing before them, though we find no command for it among the constitutions of the Mosaic law: *Ye shall have a song as in the night, when a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord.** The xliid Psalm, ver. 4., perhaps means the same thing.—Dr. Chandler, describing elsewhere† a prospect, that occurred to him in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, does it in these terms: “We saw on the beach many camels laden, or standing by their burthens; and met on the road some bostangees, and travellers from Arabia and other Eastern countries, going to, or returning from Constantinople. The

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 130.

† Isa. xxx. 29.

‡ P. 75.

hills were enlivened by flocks of sheep and goats ; and resounded with the rude music of the lyre, and of the pipe, the former a stringed instrument resembling a guitar, and held much in the same manner, but usually played on with a bow.* And when afterwards he was confined to a country house, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, on account of the raging of the plague there, he tells us, that some of the flock or herd, (belonging to a goat-stand on the top of a hill near him,) were often by the fountain below with their keeper, who played on a rude flute or pipe.*

This frequent use of music among the lowest ranks, and while attending the meanest employments, may put us in mind of David's playing on the harp, when he kept his father's sheep, 1 Sam. xvi. 16—19, which he was often heard to do ; and some other passages of Scripture.

The songs that were expected from the Israelites,† by the waters of Babylon, possibly may signify that they were set in their captivity to keep cattle, and that it was expected that they should sing as in their own country ; and when we recollect what Job said, chap. xxx. 1, *Now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock*, it appears that this was looked upon as one of the meanest stations in life : no wonder then that captives should be employed in

* P. 273.

† Ps. cxxxvii. But this Psalm may be understood in another view, which is both more natural, I think, and throws a greater energy into the description.

it ; but the anguish of their souls, for the destruction of their country, would not admit of their using their harps. All was hushed in a sad dreary silence, hanging their harps on the trees near them ; as the shepherds, among whom Chandler slept,* did their utensils, when not in use : of which I have given an account elsewhere. So the Israelites hanged their instruments of music on the trees under which they sat, watching the flocks and herds of those that had carried them away captives, unable in their state of overwhelming grief, to make use of them. Their imperious masters resented it, and required them to conceal their sorrows.

The songs the ancient Jewish shepherds sung were of the religious kind, and their Heathen conquerors might be apprized of it. Probably their songs, in common life, were often in honour of their deities, as well as in their temples.

OBSERVATION XIII.

Of the wooden Lights, or Splinters, made of resinous Wood, used in certain Countries.

LARGE splinters of wood, either of a resinous nature in themselves, or perhaps prepared in some cases by art, are made use of in the Levant instead of flambeaux ; and if they are in use in these times, in which great improvements have been made in all

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 157.

the arts of life, it is natural to suppose they were in use anciently, particularly among the peasants, shepherds, and travellers, of the lower class.*

So Dr. Richard Chandler found lighted brands made use of in Asia Minor, by some villagers, instead of torches;† and he refers to Virgil,‡ representing the Roman peasants as preparing, in his days, the same sort of flambeaux, in winter time, for their use.

If they still continue in use in the East, there is reason to believe they were used anciently; and, indeed, it seems to be a torch of this kind, that is meant by the Hebrew word *לָפֶדֶד* *lappeed*, which our translators sometimes render firebrand, sometimes lamp, thus confounding things that are very distinct, and which are expressed by different words.

If the peasants, and those that were abroad in the night and wanted light, made use of this kind of torches, it can be no wonder that Gideon should be able, with so much ease, to procure three hundred of them, for the three hundred men that he retained with him; or that they should continue burning some considerable time in their pitchers, and blaze with sufficient strength to terrify the

* This is frequently done in Ireland. Large fir blocks are frequently found deeply buried in their bogs, and which have lain there perhaps from the remotest antiquity. These, when dug up, and rended like laths and dried, become through their resinous nature, an excellent substitute for candles, and are thus used by multitudes of the common people, especially in the province of Ulster.—EDIT.

† P. 115.

‡ Georg. lib. i. l. 292.

Midianites, when those ancient, and perhaps first invented dark-lanterns,* were broken, and these flambeaux appeared with a considerable strong light, and being such as soldiers encamped were wont to use, as well as other people whose business led them to be abroad in the night.

I would remark farther, that as this word is made use of, Exod. xx. 18, and a very different word is used to express lightning in the Hebrew, it is unfortunate that our version should render it lightning there, when it is to be understood of the flaming of the trees on Mount Sinai, on that memorable occasion, whole trees flaming around the Divine presence, bearing some resemblance to the torches made of splinters of wood, which were made use of on less august occasions: "All the people saw the thunderings, and the (trees flaming like so many) torches, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off."

Lightning is understood here without doubt; and that the trees were set on fire by the lightning will hardly be contested. On the other hand, if the word directly meant lightning, still it is evidently supposed the trees and shrubs were fired by it; from whence else would have come the smoke? But as the word signifies torches, not flashes of lightning, it should not have been translated here lightning, differently from what it properly signifies. Agreeably to this account is the description given

* If our translation be accurate: which may very well be doubted.

us, *Exod. xix. 18, And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the LORD descended upon it in fire : and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.*

According to Egmont and Heyman, a tree, in some measure resembling the tamarisk, which produces a very oily fruit, and from which a celebrated oil is expressed, grows in great quantities in Mount Sinai :* whether they were trees of this kind that blazed with such awful pomp when the law was given, or any other, may be left to the curious to enquire.

OBSERVATION XIV.

Ancient and modern Idolaters often cut themselves in their Acts of Worship.

I HAVE, in a former part of this work, taken notice of the cutting themselves, which the prophets of Baal practised, in order to obtain from him, in a trying season, an answer to their prayers ; the cutting themselves, that the Israelites made use of in a time of affliction, and when they bewailed the dead ; and the modern Arab way of testifying their extreme affection for those they profess to love :†

* Vol. II. p. 169.

† The Hindoos often cut themselves with large instruments, that they may offer their blood to the goddess *Cali* ; and the larger the instrument is with which the incision is made, the more meritorious they deem the offering. They often also

but I would beg leave to add a query here, by way of supplement to that article, Whether we may not very naturally suppose the wounds in his hands, which Zechariah supposes* the false prophet had, are not to be illustrated by the first of the above mentioned usages?

Zechariah there represents a false prophet as disclaiming that character, not only for the future, but as not having previously belonged to him. When therefore he was reproached, according to that representation, with having, in preceding times, officiated as a prophet to some idol, after laying aside the distinctive dress that pointed out the prophetic character, he is supposed to say, he never was such an one, but had been always a plain, unlearned, unsagacious husbandman, or herdsman; and when asked what those wounds then were, whose scars at least remained in his hands, such as the idolatrous prophets were wont to inflict on their hands, when they could not obtain any answer to those anxious enquiries they made in a time of perplexity,† by any of those modes of divination they had used, may we not with great probability suppose, that Zechariah represents him as endeavouring to elude this most suspi-

place a burning wick on their flesh, in honour of the same deity, and endeavour to appease her wrath by *human* sacrifices.
EDIT.

* Ch. xiii. 6.

† When the Israelites were forbidden to cut themselves, Deut. xiv. 1. it might be to teach them to look up to JEHOVAH as the God that would hear their supplications, if proper to be granted, without such expressions of violent emotion.

cious circumstance, by saying these were wounds that he gave himself when mourning the death of a friend whom he dearly loved, or testifying his affection for some young female, of a family with which he desired to establish the most endearing friendship—by making affinity with it?

Such an interpretation appears to me much more natural, than the supposition of some of the learned, who imagine these wounds are to be understood of those marks idolaters often received on their hands, as well as other parts of their bodies, in token of their belonging to such or such an idol; and that the false prophet would, in such a case as is here foretold, pretend it was the innocent mark that had been imprinted upon him by his master, when he became his slave, whose ground he had been wont to plough, or whose herds he had fed. For the distinction must have been visible to every eye, whatever the mark should be imagined to be: the distinction between the mark of a Heathen deity, and that of a wealthy Israelite, used for the mere purposes of civil life.* Not to say that the mark of an idol was not appropriated to his prophets; but was imprinted on his common worshippers; and it is not to be supposed, that, after a time of general defection to idolatry, every one that had been seduced into idol-worship would have been in danger of his life. And, indeed, it evidently appears, that Zechariah is speaking of them

* If the Jews marked their servants as some nations did, which is much to be questioned.

that had prophesied in the name of an idol, and that he mentions them only.

OBSERVATION XV.

All ancient Prophets and Priests lived wholly secluded from secular Life.

It may not be amiss to add, in this next article, that it seems, from that part of his defence, that Zechariah supposes the false prophet would make use of, to clear himself from the charge of having been the prophet of an idol, *I am no prophet, I am a husbandman ;* for man taught me to keep cattle from my youth,*† that the prophets of idols, as well as those of Jehovah, lived a life of abstraction from civil employments, and wholly spent their time in the service of the idol, in some way or other, which it may be natural for us to be a little inquisitive about.

The Prophets of God were wont to live in society,‡ and to be trained up, from early life, in such a way as was supposed to invite the influences of the prophetic spirit—Retirement from the world, reading, meditation, prayer, and singing the Divine praises, which last was itself honoured with the

* This subterfuge was the most natural that such an one could make use of, as the prophets and pretended prophets were wont to wear the coarse and homely dress of those brought up to country business.

† Zech. xiii. 5.

‡ 1 Sam. xix. 20—24.

name of prophesying as well as the foretelling future events.*

Accordingly, the false prophet's exculpation of himself, "I am no prophet; I am a husbandman, and taught to keep cattle from my youth," reminds us of the account Amos gives of himself, *The words of Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoah*, ch. i. 1. Again, *Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit; and the LORD took me, as I followed the flock; the LORD said to me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.* Ch. vii. 14, 15. He was not one that had lived to forty or fifty years of age this consecrated sort of life, when he was sent with the messages of JEHOVAH to Israel; nor had even his youth been spent among the sons of the Prophets; but he was very unexpectedly taken from among the herdmen of Tekoah, and made a messenger of God to Israel.

Now, had not the Idol-prophets lived in something of the same manner, the allegation of the false prophet, that he had been a husbandman or a herdman from his youth, would have been absolutely impertinent.

Accordingly we find, 1 Kings xviii. 19., that the prophets of the groves eat together at Jezebel's table; perhaps those of Baal too: for the words of the sacred historian may be so understood, though that is not necessarily the sense of this passage. *Now therefore send, and gather to me*

* See 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3. 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.

all Israel unto Mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table.

We are not to suppose that these eight hundred and fifty prophets, or even the four hundred of the groves, eat at the royal table, where Jezebel herself took her refectation ; for though, I am sensible, it is not unusual in the East for servants to eat at the same table where their masters have eaten, after their masters have done ; and that several hundreds eat in the palaces of the Eastern princes ; yet it could never be thought necessary by Jezebel to have four hundred chaplains in waiting at once at court. I should think the words mean, that these four hundred prophets of the groves fed daily at a common table, in or near the temple of that idol which they served, and which was provided for at the expense of Jezebel ; living there in a kind of collegiate way, as the Prophets of JEHOVAH appear to have done.

Their business was, I suppose, to sing the praises of the idols they worshipped ; and to watch from to time in their temples, under the pretence of receiving oracular answers to the enquiries of those that came to consult them ;* and, it may be, to teach the worshippers in what form of words to address the deity they served.

* 2 Kings i. 2.

OBSERVATION XVI.

*In the East, the washing of Clothes is performed
in the most public Manner.*

THE washing foul linen, among us, is performed in the proper apartments of private houses: but in the East, where the women are, in common, kept very close, it is performed in public view, by the sides of rivers and fountains.*

This may seem very strange, when we reflect on the great solicitude of many of the Eastern people to keep their women concealed; and recollect the privacy with which this female service is performed among us, in a country where the women appear abroad as frequently as the men.

Dr. Chandler, however, in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, mentions this Eastern custom, and frequently observed it. “The women,” says the Doctor, “resort to the fountains by the houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on her back, or thrown over her shoulder for water. They assemble at a fountain without the village or town, if no river be near, to wash their linen, which is afterwards spread on the ground or bushes to dry.”† He elsewhere speaks of his having seen them performing this service. “Near the mouth

* This is a very frequent custom both in Ireland and Scotland.—EDIT.

† P. 21.

of the river was lively verdure," speaking of the bed which received the Scamander and Simois united, "with trees, and on the same side as Sigéum, the castle, and Chomkali; above which, by the water, were many women, their faces muffled, washing linen, or spreading it to dry, with children playing on the banks."* And of another river on the same side of the Hellespont, he says, "the bed was wide, stony, and intersected with green thicket, but had water in the cavities,† at which many women, with their faces muffled, were busy washing linen and spreading it on the ground to dry."‡

May not this observation serve to confirm the conjecture, that the young woman that was sent to En-rogel,§ with a message of great importance to the safety of king David, which she was to deliver to the two young priests that were stationed there, in some place of concealment, went out of the city, with a bundle of linen, as if she was going to wash it: since nothing was more natural, (if it was a place used for that purpose,) or better calculated to elude jealousy and apprehension, on the one hand; and since we can hardly otherwise account for the sending such a person, on the other, or at least for its being recorded with such distinctness.

The only difficulty attending this representation seems to be, the number of females wont to assemble together at such places, (for Dr. Chandler

* P. 40.

† *Εν βοθροῖσι* is the word Homer makes use of.

‡ P. 13.

§ 2 Sam. xvii. 17.

speaks of them as very numerous ;) but if we suppose that they did not assemble together in troops in the city, but only gather together at the places of washing, the sending her rather earlier than usual might be sufficient to answer the purpose.

But if what Chandler has said, of this Eastern practice, illustrates no passage of Scripture, it certainly shews that the practice of the Greeks, so long ago as the time of Homer,* and earlier, still continues among their descendants.

OBSERVATION XVII.

Of the peculiarly significant Names given to Women in the East.

THE names the Eastern people give to women and to slaves appear to us to be oftentimes not a little odd ; something of the same kind may however be remarked in the Scriptures, though they are there more frequently of the devout kind. A little collection of examples may not be disagreeable.

The author of the History of Ali Bey mentions a female, whose name لعل *laal* signified ruby.† One of the wives of Elkanah, the father of the prophet Samuel, seems to have been named in the same way, for such, I presume, was the meaning of the word פננה *Peninnah*.‡ It is somewhat remarkable, that this name is left out of that cata-

* Odys. 6.

† P. 70.

‡ 1 Sam. i. 2.

logue of ancient names given in some of our old Bibles. The plural word *peninim* signifies *rubies*, or precious stones that are red, as is evident from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, ch. iv. 7.: though some of the Jewish virtuosi suppose pearls are meant, and *peninnah* seems to be the singular of the word *peninim*, with a feminine termination. If both these ladies were called by names that, in their respective languages, signified a ruby, probably both one and the other were so denominated, either from the floridness of their complexion, or the contrary to a ruby teint : for it may be understood either way ; it not being unusual, with the Oriental nations, to go by the rule of contraries in giving people names. Thus d'Herbelot informs us, that camphor, which is a very white and odoriferous gum or resin, is one of those names which are wont to be given to negroes or blacks in the East ; and *jasmin* and *narcissus*, which are known to be remarkable for their whiteness, are names applied to the same sable-coloured slaves.*

Possibly Rachael might have that name put upon her, which signifies a *sheep*, not from the mildness of her temper, but the reverse. What she said to Jacob, before she had children, while her sister had several, Gen. xxx. 1., by no means invalidates such a supposition.

* Biblioth. Orient. art. Casur.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

Curious method of applying the Terms Father and Mother, to Things animate and inanimate, in the East.

I HAVE in another volume taken notice, that it is a common thing among the people of the East, to denominate a man the father of a thing for which he is remarkable ; but here I would say, not only that collection of examples might be enlarged,* but that people and places may, in like man-

* It certainly might be enlarged : thus we find that one of the Beys of Egypt, mentioned in the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, was called Abudahap, which signifies *father of gold*, on the account of his avaricious temper, p. 81. (See also this name given him in a firman of the Grand Signior himself, which is published by Major Rooke, in his Travels to the Coast of Arabia Felix, p. 218, which being a paper of State makes this appellation very remarkable.) In like manner a pasha of Bagdad, who generally went out in the night in his expeditions against the wild Arabs, in which he was very successful, was called, (Niebuhr tells us, in the II^d. Vol. of his Travels into Arabia and adjacent countries, p. 258,) Abu el Leyl, that is, *father of the night*, but by the people of Bagdad the *lion*. In like manner the same author tells us, in his first volume of those Travels, that one of the beys of Egypt, of his time, was called Abu Seif, that is, he tells us, *he that knew how to handle the scimitar* ; but if literally translated, I would observe, signifies *father of the scimitar*, p. 110. And again, in p. 280 of the same work, he observes, that the Arabs call the tree that produces the Mecca balsam *abu scham*, that is, he says, *the odoriferous tree* ; but, literally translated, it

ner, be called the *mother* of such and such a thing for which they are noted.

So Niebuhr tells us the Arabs call a woman that sells butter *omm es sübbet*, the mother of butter. Thus also he tells us, in the same page, that there is a place between Basra and Zobeir, where an ass happened to fall down, and throw the wheat with which the creature was loaded into some water there, on which account that place is called to this day the *Mother of Wheat*.*

In like manner, in the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot, *Omm Alketab* (or the *mother of books*) signifies the book of the Divine decrees; and at other times the first chapter of the Koran. The *mother of the throat* is the name of an imaginary being, (a fairy,) who is supposed to bring on and to cure that disorder in the throat which we call the quinsy.† So in the same collection we are told, that the acacia, or Egyptian thorn, is called by the Arabians the *mother of satyrs*, it seems, because those imaginary inhabitants of the forests and deserts were supposed to haunt under them.‡

After this we shall not at all wonder, when we

signifies the *father of fragrance*, or odoriferousness; and, in like manner, in p. 263 of that volume, he informs us, that the Arabs call a man that has large mustachios *Abu Schanârib*, *father of the mustachio*; and *Abu Hamâr*, he that is the *proprietor of an ass*; but this last only, I should imagine, in some particular circumstances.

* Voy. en Arabie, et en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, Tome I. p. 263.

† P. 686.

‡ P. 358.

read in the writings of the prophet Ezekiel,* of Nebuchadnezzar's standing at the *Mother of the Way*, a remarkable place in the road, where he was to determine, whether he would go to Jerusalem, or to some other place, one branch of the road pointing to Jerusalem, the other leading to a different town.†

OBSERVATION XIX.

Some Observations on the Upupa, or Lapwing.

It is very astonishing, that the Hebrew word *סוס* *soos*, which our translators so readily supposed meant a *crane*, should not be translated at all by the Septuagint, or in the other ancient Greek versions, so far as appears in the collections of Lambert Bos. I have, in a preceding observation, given an account of several migratory birds that appeared from time to time in Judea, to which it may not be improper to add a passage in Ovid's *Fasti*, with which I have been particularly struck, and on which I wish to communicate a few observations to my readers, leaving it to them to deter-

* Ch. xxi. 21. according to the marginal translation of the Hebrew.

† But the most remarkable use of the term *mother*, in d'Herbelot, is, I think, in the article Omm Mocri, which seems to signify the *mother of the reader*, and was the surname of a celebrated Mohammedan male saint, who, according to the article Mocri, particularly professed the art of teaching people to read the Koran.

mine, whether that Hebrew word may not, very probably, mean the *upupa*, to use a Latin name, or the hoop or the hoopoe,* as English writers call it.

The passage in the *Fasti* is that in which he describes the lamentation of Ceres, when she lost her daughter, and filled the world with her moans, which he compares to the mournful noise made by this bird.

“ Quacunque ingreditur, miseris loca cuncta querelis

“ Implet : ut amissum cùm gemit *ales* Ityn.”

Lib. iv. 481, 2.

Here it is supposed that the noise made by *Tereus*, after he was imagined to have been turned into this bird, and to have lamented his son *Itys* with bitter anguish, is extremely mournful, since the vehement lamentations of Ceres are compared to this bird's noise, which is said to be *pupu*, and supposed to have been the occasion of its being called *upupa*.

I would next remark, that, according to Dr. Russell, it appears in the country about Aleppo,† which is known very much to resemble Judea in its climate and productions.

Farther, it is a migratory bird in those countries about Aleppo, according to Russell, who says, “ the hoopoe (*upupa*) and bee-eater come in the spring, and remain all the summer and autumn.” It might then be one of the birds Je-

* Ray calls it the hoopoe, in his *Syn. Avium*.

† Descript. of Aleppo, Vol. II. p. 198.

remiah was speaking of, ch. viii. 7., being migratory as well as the *crane*; and as likely to be meant by Hezekiah* as the *crane*, since its mournful noise is so remarkable, as to be chosen by Ovid to express the lamentations of Ceres.

Lastly, It must be difficult, to find out any resemblance between a *horse*, which the Hebrew word indisputably signifies, and a *crane*, which it is also by moderns supposed to mean; but there is no great difficulty of finding a likeness between this bird, (and some sort of bird it undoubtedly means, from what Jeremiah says about it,) and a horse, if we recollect an Observation in a former part of this work, which gives an account of its being customary for both men and horses to have their heads adorned with feathers.† For this is Dr. Berkenhout's description of the hoopoe: "Crest orange, tipped with black, two inches long," &c. How beautiful this plume! somewhat resembling those worn by princes and their courtiers, and also their horses! consisting, other writers tell us, of many feathers, and very long, considering the size of the bird, which is but little larger than a quail.

But if this is not the bird Hezekiah actually meant, it must be allowed it might, without impropriety, have been referred to on that occasion—the noise it makes is mournful. At the same time it observes the due time for returning from the places to which it withdraws itself when it migrates.

* Isaiah xxxviii. 14.

† The horses in the East are frequently adorned with tufts of feathers on the top of the head.—EDIT.

It is a bird also remarkable for its filthiness, said to live on excrements, to make its nest of human dung, and to be fond of graves,* circumstances that do not make this bird less proper to be referred to, when the moans of a sick chamber are described.

OBSERVATION XX.

Curious Observations on weaving, in Illustration of a Passage of Isaiah, chap. xxxviii. 12.

HEZEKIAH makes use of another simile, in that hymn of his which Isaiah has preserved, and which simile appeared, many years ago, very perplexing to a gentleman of good sense and learning, who resided in one of the most noted towns of the kingdom for weaving. He could not conceive, why the cutting short the life of that prince should be compared to a weaver's cutting off a piece from his loom when he had finished it, and he and every body that saw it in that state expected it as a thing of course. He consulted those that were acquainted with the manufactory, but could gain no satisfaction.

Perhaps it may appear more easy to the mind, if the simile is understood to refer to the weaving of a carpet, filled with flowers and other inge-

* Com. Hieronymi in Zach. cap. 5. Lemery, a modern writer not ill-versed in natural history, has given a like account, Dict. des Drogues, art. Upupa.

nious devices : just as a weaver, after having wrought many decorations into a piece of carpeting, suddenly cuts it off, while the figures were rising into view as fresh and as beautiful as ever, and the spectator is expecting the weaver would proceed in his work ; so, after a variety of pleasing and amusing transactions in the course of my life, suddenly and unexpectedly it seemed to me that it was come to its period, and was just going to be cut off. Unexpectedness must certainly be intended here.

It is certain that now the Eastern people not only employed themselves in rich embroideries, but in making carpets filled with flowers and other pleasing figures. Dr. Shaw gives us an account of the last,* as other travellers do of the first. “ Carpets, which are much coarser than those from Turkey, are made here in great numbers, and of all sizes.†—But the chief branch of their manufactories is, the making of *hykes*, or blankets, as we should call them. The women alone are employed in this work, (as Andromache and Penelope were of old,) who do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers.”

If shuttles are not now used in the manufacturing of *hykes*, can we suppose they were in use in the time of Job ? Yet our translators suppose this : “ My days are swifter than a weaver’s shuttle, and are spent without hope.”‡ Whereas

* Trav. p. 224.

† If of such different sizes, they might sometimes be cut off very unexpectedly.

‡ Ch. vii. 6.

the original only says, *My days are swifter than a weaver*.*

I would add, that I can hardly imagine our present Hebrew copies are exact, which use a term that signifies *I have cut off*: the Septuagint do not seem to have read it so; and a very little alteration, and a very probable one, would make it, *thou hast cut off*, referring to God.

Perhaps it may be thought, that it is hardly probable that weaving ornamented carpets, though now so common in the East, was then practised there; but it should be remembered, that skill to perform the works of the weaver is mentioned, in the same passage, with those of the engraver and the embroiderer, which were then practised in a considerable degree of perfection: *Them hath he (God) filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work, and of those that devise cunning work.* Exod. xxxv. 35.

Plain or simple weaving could never be meant here: it was in use before the time of Moses. For we read that Joseph was arrayed in fine linen, when he was made viceroy of Egypt: that more refined skill in weaving seems to refer to the working pleasing figures into the web. The hangings of the court of the Tabernacle, probably, are

* The motion of whose fingers must have been exceeding quick, when no shuttle was used; it might be as quick as most motions the Temanites were familiarly acquainted with.

to be understood not to have been simple linen cloth, but cloth diapered, or wrought in pleasing figures of some such a kind, Exod. xxvii. 9. The curtains of the sacred tent itself were to be of fine linen, intermingled with blue, purple, and scarlet, wrought into the figure of cherubs with great art, Exod. xxvi. 1. From which the veil hanging over the door, certainly designed to be richer than the preceding, if there was any distinction between them, is described as formed of the same materials, but the figures made of *מעשה רקם* *maaseh rokem*, needle-work, verse 36, a very different word from *מעשה חשב* *maaseh chosheb*, used in the first verse, which is a general term used to point out some new ingenious invention in any art;* and, consequently, may as well relate to the art of weaving as any other.

So I find R. Solomon, and Aben Esra, understood the word, in the first verse, to refer to weaving those figures in the curtains of the tabernacle, but on different grounds, I believe, from that I have proposed, namely, the authority of their old writers.† I deduce it from the wonted superior richness of the veil of the door-way to the other hangings of an apartment.

It may not be amiss to add, that the word which we translate to weave, signifies interweaving any slender substances together, in such a manner as to make a firm texture, and therefore expresses the making wicker-work : *ארג* (*arag*) is used in the

* 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

† Vide Buxtorfii Epit. Rad. Hebr. p. 308.

sense of making wicker-work, Isa. xix. 9., where our translators render it "they that weave network," and in the margin "white-work." Certainly fish may be caught by wicker-work as well as by nets; and something of that kind appears in the Prænestine Mosaic pavement which Dr. Shaw has given us. Reeds, he observes,* are now commonly made use of; those toils Isaiah speaks of might be described as made of wicker-work, which was white from the peeling of the twigs made use of, probably to mark out the frequent magnificence of the Egyptians of that time, in their fishing. For the same reason he speaks of their using flax, of different colours, (for that is supposed to be the meaning of the words translated fine flax) and which must be imagined to have been for pomp and splendor, more than use.

After all, the needle-work of the Scriptures might sometimes differ very much from what we call embroidery: it is certain that the Persians, if we may believe Sir John Chardin, have a kind of needle-work very different. The account he gives of it, in short, is as follows: "Their tailors certainly excel ours in their sewing. They make carpets, cushions, veils for doors, and other pieces of furniture of felt, in Mosaic work, which represents just what they please. This is done, so neatly, that a man might suppose the figures were painted, instead of being a kind of inlaid work. Look as close as you will, the joinings cannot be seen."†

* P. 524, 4to. edit.

† Voy. Tom. II. p. 85.

This Persian kind of needle-work somewhat resembles our old tapestry, which, instead of being woven, was made of many pieces of different colours sewed together, but by no means joined together, with Persian dexterity. Whether the needle-work on both sides, which the mother of Sisera supposed* would become a prey to her son, was needle-work of this kind, the curious may consider : certainly we should never think of describing our common embroidery, by its beauty on both sides.

If this account of the sudden, and to a bystander, unexpected cutting off his work by the weaver of a carpet, or some such curious kind of workmanship, should not be admitted ; yet Niebuhr will be allowed, I presume, to have clearly illustrated what is said concerning a shepherd's tent in the same verse.

For, in his description of Arabia, he mentions a circumstance relating to the Bedouin Arabs, which is very amusing to the imagination, and serves to give great energy to that other simile made use of by Hezekiah, in the hymn he is supposed to have composed, relating to his dangerous illness and subsequent recovery.†

“ In the well-watered parts of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, there are still several tribes who support themselves by their horses, their buffaloes, their cows, and by agriculture, occupations that the Arabs of the more noble families judge below them to follow. The princi-

* Judges v.

† Isa. xxxviii. 12.

pal tribes are named *Ahhl el Abaar*, the others *Moædân*. These Moædân tribes are of a middle rank, between true Arabs and peasants. They remove their pitiful habitations from country to country, according as they want lands to till, or pasturage; it is for this reason we sometimes find whole villages, in a place where, the day before, there was not a single hut.”*

The opposite to this is what Hezekiah refers to: he felt just such sensations as a man would do, that saw a large encampment of Arabs, surrounded with people, and flocks and herds, one day; and the next, nothing but an uninhabited desert.

Mine age, דורי *doree*, or, as others translate it, *my habitation*, or, perhaps, the word may rather signify, the *people of my generation*, the people about me, and with whom I have been connected, are gone, and disappear from my eyes; I am just in the situation of one that saw, a few days ago, the tent of an Arab sheikh, surrounded by a multitude of tents or huts of his attendants, with flocks and herds, but who, on a sudden, and very unexpectedly, decamping with all his people and possessions, leaves a dreary solitude behind him. Thus, instead of a long train of officers and attendants, marching in great pomp about Hezekiah, and crowds of people paying him royal honours as he passed along; all was reduced to the solitude of a sick chamber, which, though occupied by royalty, could admit only a very few unceremonious attendants, waiting upon him with great silence,

on account of the extremity of his illness.—My company about me is dispersed, and silence surrounds me, so that I am like a lonely place in the desert, where, a little before, the tent of an Arab sheikh was pitched, surrounded by his people and cattle. Such, I apprehend, is the lively meaning of Hezekiah.

OBSERVATION XXI.

Copious Falls of Rain in the East, considered as extraordinary Blessings.

THOUGH it should be admitted that the xiith chapter of Isaiah was not composed as a hymn of thanksgiving, for the deliverance of Israel, on some particular occasion, from the hands of their enemies, by means of a copious fall of rain that filled their exhausted reservoirs of water, by which means they were enabled to hold out, and their enemies were obliged to give over besieging them, and to retire with disgrace; yet it must, I think, be allowed, that, under that image, the copious pouring out of the influences of the Spirit of God on men, at the coming of the Messiah, is sketched out; and it seems requisite to attend to this representation, in order to enter into all the energy and spirit of this passage of the Prophet.

We meet with such events sometimes in history, and among the Jews too. So Josephus informs us, “ that the rain which fell, in one night, was so abundant as soon to fill the cisterns at Massada,

where some hundreds of the partisans of Herod were besieged, who by that means were enabled to maintain their post, though they were before just ready to quit it for want of water.”*

With what joy must these Herodians have drawn water out of their wells and cisterns, in the morning after this copious rain, the prelude of others soon to follow ! for it seems to have been the first rain, at least of any consideration, that had fallen that autumn. They might, without impropriety, call them the *wells of salvation*, for they were the means, through the interposition of Providence, of saving them out of the hands of their enemies. Jonathan, the son of king Saul, is said to have wrought a great salvation for Israel, 1 Sam. xiv. 45. : and as he was the instrument made use of by God to effect that salvation ; so the wells, or cisterns, of Massada, were the instruments that effected the salvation of the adherents of Herod at that time.

I do not however suppose this xiith of Isaiah was composed originally by the Prophet, with the design of celebrating an event of his time, similar to that at Massada: for he begins it with these words, *And in that day thou shalt say*, plainly referring to the preceding chapter, which relates to the times of the Messiah. But he makes use of the description of a thanksgiving for such deliverance, to point out the consolatory effects of the

* Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 14, sect. 6. p. 728, edit. Hav. This rain must have been very copious, and may serve to confirm an Observation in a former volume, relating to the very heavy rains that fall in the East in the night.

pouring out the instructions of the Spirit of inspiration in the time of the Messiah, in the most copious manner, after a long suspension of that mercy, under which numbers of them, we may reasonably suppose, were ready to sink, and to desert the cause in which they had been engaged, since we find, that, even at the time the lxxxixth Psalm was composed, they began *to reproach the slowness of the footsteps of God's anointed.** The describing then the joy for receiving these influences, which are so often compared in Holy Writ to water, and to rain in particular, by the rejoicing of those that were delivered from a very painful, and even distressing situation, by the sudden filling their reservoirs by plentiful showers, was an image natural enough, and certainly very lively, and as such made use of by the Prophet.

OBSERVATION XXII.

Of the Effects produced on the Colour of the Body by Hunger.

I LEAVE it to physicians and naturalists to determine, with minute exactness, what effect extreme hunger produces on the body, particularly as to *colour*. It is sufficient for me to remark, that the modern inhabitants of the East suppose it occasions an approach to *blackness*, as the ancient Jews also did.

* See ver. 50, 51.

Her Nazarites, says the Prophet, (complaining of the dreadful want of food, just before Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar,) were purer than snow; they were whiter than milk; they were more ruddy in body than rubies; their polishing was of sapphire. Their visage is blacker than a coal: they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered; it is become like a stick. Lam. iv. 7, 8.

The like is said, ch. v. 10. *Our skin was black like an oven, because of the terrible famine.*

The same representation of its effects still obtains in those countries. So Sir John Chardin tells us,* that the common people of Persia, to express the sufferings of Houssain, a grandson of their prophet Mohammed, and one of their most illustrious saints, who fled into the deserts before his victorious enemies, that pursued him ten days together, and at length overtook him, ready to die with heat, thirst, and fatigue, and slew him with a multitude of wounds, in memory of which they annually observe ten days with great solemnity; I say, he tells us, that the common people then, to express what he suffered, “ appear entirely naked, excepting the parts modesty requires to be covered, and *blackened* all over; while others are stained with blood; others run about the streets, beating two flint-stones against each other, their tongues hanging out of their mouths like

* Voy. Tome III. p. 173.; and see the concluding observations of Vol. III. p. 43, of *this* work.

people quite exhausted, and behaving like persons in despair, crying, with all their might, Houssain, &c. Those that coloured themselves *black* intended to represent the extremity of thirst and heat which Houssain had suffered, which was so great, they say, *that he turned black*, and his tongue swelled out of his mouth. Those that were covered with *blood*, intended to represent his being so terribly wounded, as that all his blood had issued from his veins before he died."

Here we see thirst, want of food, and fatigue, are supposed to make a human body look black. They are now supposed to do so; as they were supposed anciently to have that effect.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

Curious Illustration of Ezra iv. 14.

Odd speculations have been founded on the original expression in Ezra iv. 14., and published by commentators to the world; which expression informs us, that those that discouraged the rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, and wrote to an ancient Persian king on that subject, *were salted with the salt of his palace*.

Some have supposed that the words refer to their receiving a stipend from the king of Persia, which was wont to be paid in salt;* others suppose it

* See Bishop Patrick on the place.

expresses an acknowledgment that they were preserved by that king's protection, as flesh is preserved by salt.* And many pieces of collateral learning are introduced to embellish these conceits.

It is sufficient, to put an end to all these conjectures, to recite the words of a modern Persian monarch, whose court Chardin attended sometime about business. "Rising in a wrath against an officer, who had attempted to deceive him, he drew his sabre, fell upon him, and hewed him in pieces, at the feet of the grand Vizier, who was standing (and whose favour the poor wretch courted by this deception.) And looking fixedly upon him, and the other great lords that stood on each side of him, he said with a tone of indignation, 'I have then such ungrateful servants and traitors as these *to eat my salt*. Look on this sword, it shall cut off all these perfidious heads.' Tome-III. p. 149."

The Persian great men do not receive their salaries, it is well known, in salt; and the officer that was killed was under the immediate protection of the grand Vizier, not the prince: our English version has given then the sense, though it has not literally translated the passage. It means the same thing as eating one's bread signifies here in the West, but, perhaps, with a particular energy.

I beg leave to introduce one remark here, of a very different nature, that we may learn from

* Sanctius ap. Poli Syn.

this story, that Samuel's hewing Agag in pieces,* though so abhorrent from our customs, differs very little, in many respects, from this Persian execution. Samuel was a person of high distinction in Israel: he had been their judge, or supreme governor under God; he was a prophet too; and we are ready to think his sacred hands should not have been employed in the actual shedding of blood. How strange would it be in our eyes, if we should see one of our kings cutting off the head of a traitor with his own hands; or an archbishop of Canterbury stabbing a foreign captive prince! But different countries have very different usages. Soliman king of Persia, who hewed this unfaithful officer in pieces, reigned over a much larger and richer country than Judea, and at the same time was considered by his subjects as sacred a person as Samuel: supposed to be descended from their prophet Mohammed, to reign by a Divine constitution, and to be possessed, we are assured by this writer in another place, of a kind of prophetic penetration and authority.

I have said, it appears to signify the same thing as eating one's bread in the West; but, probably, with some particular kind of energy, marking out not merely the obligations of gratitude, but the strictest ties of fidelity.

For as the letter was written not only by some of the great officers on the Western side of the Euphrates, but in the name of the several colonies of people that had been transplanted thither, the

* 1 Sam. xv. 33.

Dinaïtes, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, &c., ver. 9, 10., it is not to be supposed these tribes of people all received their food from the palace, or a stipend for their support ; but, with great adulation they might pretend, they considered themselves as held under as strong engagements of fidelity to the kings of Persia, as if they had eaten salt in his palace. The following story from d'Herbelot will explain this, if the views of these ancient Persians may be supposed to correspond with those of the Persians of the ninth century.

Jacoub ben Laith, the founder of a dynasty of Persian princes called the *Soffarides*, rising, like many other of the ancestors of the princes of the East, from a very low state to royal power, being, in his first setting out in the use of arms, no better than a free-booter or robber, is yet said to have maintained some regard to decency in his depredations, and never to have entirely stripped those that he robbed, always leaving them something to soften their affliction.

Among other exploits that are recorded of him, he is said to "have broken into the palace of the prince of that country ; and, having collected a very large booty, which he was on the point of carrying away, he found his foot kicked something, which made him stumble. He imagined it might be something of value, and putting it to his mouth, the better to distinguish what it was, his tongue soon informed him it was *a lump of salt*. Upon this, according to the morality, or rather superstition, of the country, where the people considered salt as *a symbol and pledge of hospitality*,

he was so touched, that he left all his booty, retiring without taking away any thing with him.

“ The next morning, the risk they had run of losing many valuable things being perceived, great was the surprise, and strict the inquiry, what should be the occasion of their being left. At length Jacoub was found to be the person concerned, who having given an account, very sincerely, of the whole transaction to the prince, he gained his esteem so effectually, that it might be said with truth, that it was his *regard for salt*, that laid the foundation of his after fortune. The prince employed him as a man of courage and genius in many enterprises ; and, finding him successful in all of them, he raised him, by little and little, to the chief posts among his troops, so that, at that prince’s death, he found himself possessed of the command in chief ; and he had such interest in their affections, that they preferred his interests to those of the children of the deceased prince, and he became *absolute master* of that province, whence he afterwards spread his conquests far and wide.”*

When the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, and the other transplanted tribes, told Artaxerxes, the Persian monarch, that they were salted with the salt of his Palace, it appears, according to these things, to mean, that they considered themselves as eating his bread, on account of being put and continued in possession of a considerable part of the Jewish country, by him and his predecessors ;

* Bibl. Orient. Art. Yacoub.

and that their engagements of fidelity to him were indeed as strong, as if they had eaten salt in his palace.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

Expressions of Surprise among the Turks.

THERE is so much resemblance between an expression of surprise, made use of by the Turks, upon an exhibition of the military kind among them mentioned by the Baron de Tott, and some words of Balaam recorded in the book of Numbers, that I thought it might be worth while to take notice of it.

When the Baron de Tott was endeavouring to make them better gunners, for want of which they suffered such great losses in the war with the Russians, which terminated in 1774, he was forced by them, very contrary to his wish, to fire a cannon at a certain mark. Upon redoubled solicitations, he was prevailed on to point the piece, and was not less surprised than those around him, to see the bullet hit the piquet, in the centre of the butt. The cry *machalla* resounded on all sides.*

At the bottom of the page is this note : *Machalla* (What God has done !) An expression of the greatest admiration.

This reminds one of an expression of Balaam, Numb. xxiii. 22, 23., *God brought them out of*

* Mem. Vol. II. Part III. p. 96.

Egypt ; he hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel : according to this time it shall be said of Jacob, and of Israel, What hath God wrought !

These words may be understood to be expressive of devotion, as well as surprise ; but a word of this import appears to be used now in the East merely to signify surprise ; and nothing more, probably, was meant by Balaam.

OBSERVATION XXV.

Of the hard Usage experienced by the Jews, who were carried away by Sennacherib

ACCORDING to the book of Tobit, the Jews of the ten tribes, that were carried away into captivity, were frequently slain, without just cause, by Sennacherib, out of resentment for his bad success against Jerusalem, in the time of Hezekiah ; and also afterwards by his son and successor. These slaughtered Jews, among his other good works, Tobit buried, and by that means exposed himself to great danger of being put to death. Tobit ii. 3, &c.

The account is given us in the first and second chapters of that book, and contains, in other words, the following particulars :—That the poor Jews of the captivity were frequently put to death arbitrarily.—That their slaughtered bodies were oftentimes left unburied—That they were left on the outside

of the town, near the walls of Nineveh ; or left hanging upon the walls : for a different reading renders the account somewhat uncertain*—That the prince sometimes inquired after the dead bodies—That Tobit being complained of for burying them, he was sought for to be put to death for that reason—And that they were sometimes put to death in private, and afterward exposed to public view.

These modes of procedure are very abhorrent from our apprehensions of government, but quite answerable to what is to this day practised in the despotic countries of the East, which affords us a clear comment on these passages of the book of Tobit.

We are told, in this ancient Jewish book, that Tobit's son came and told his father, that one of their nation was strangled, and was cast out in the market-place.† His being cast into a place of public view, after he was strangled, seems to intimate that he was put to death in private, and afterwards exposed.

Niebuhr, in his description of Arabia, p. 11., gives just such an account of what happened at Basra,‡ a few days before his arrival there. "In that city," he tells us, "a very rich merchant, who had been received into the powerful body of the Janizaries, and had been at Mecca as a pil-

* The Vatican copy reading, *οπισω τῶ τευχῆς Νινευῆ* ; the Alexandrine, according to Lambert Bos, *ἐπὶ τῶ τευχῆς εἰς Νινευῆ*. Tob. i. 17.

† Ch. ii. 3. ‡ Or Bussorah, as we commonly call it.

grim, but who lived in enmity with the governor, was strangled *privately* a little before Niebuhr's arrival there, and his dead body thrown into the public market-place."

Their executions are at other times public, and then commonly without their cities.* It seems to have been so anciently; and it is to this circumstance, I suppose, the Psalmist refers, when he says, (Psal. lxxix. 2, 3,) *The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven; the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem: and there was none to bury them.*

It is to these executions without the walls that, probably, the author of this book of Tobit refers, when he says, *And if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast about the walls of Nineveh, I buried them.* The word in the Greek, according to some copies, is *οπισω*, *behind*, the walls of Nineveh. So the margin tells you it may be translated: it is, indeed, the proper meaning of the word. Different words are made use of to express lying about without the walls of the city, according to the view in which we speak of them. The people of Tyre, who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, when they brought their merchandise to this last-mentioned city, but were not permitted to enter it, are said to have lodged *about*, or rather, according to the marginal translation, *before*†

* As appears by both Dr. Shaw and Pitts' account of Algiers.

† *Ἀπεναντι τῶν τευχῶν* is the translation of the Septuagint.

the wall, Neh. xiii. 20, 21. But if this lodging *without the walls* of Jerusalem was lodging before the wall, with respect to strangers that lived in other towns, it was *behind* the wall with respect to those in Jerusalem. Thus in a *sacred song*, the hero of the piece is said by the lady, who is supposed to have been in a pleasure-house or arbour, in a garden, to have stood *behind the wall*,* shewing himself through the lattice. Cant. ii. 9.

If the reading of the Vatican copy (*behind* the walls of Nineveh) be right, Tobit appears to refer to the scene of Eastern executions, which is without the walls, and where afterwards the dead bodies were left unburied; if the Alexandrine, (*ἐπὶ, upon* the walls,) then he must refer to the Eastern manner of sometimes executing criminals *on the walls* of their cities, either by hanging them from thence *by ropes*, or on *hooks* fastened in the wall.†

I should think the first most natural, as it must have been much more difficult for Tobit to have taken the bodies of his countrymen from the walls, in order to inter them; than when left dead on the ground, after having had a cord twisted about their necks until they were dead, in which manner people are now often strangled in the East.

But in what place soever they lost their lives, it was, and is now, understood to be highly criminal to bury them without permission. It is with us, in some cases, criminal, but not so universally

* Where the Septuagint render it, *οπισω τῶ τοιχῶ ημῶν*.

† Of both which modes of punishment Dr. Shaw has given an account, p. 253, 254.

as in those countries of slavery and cruelty. So Windus, in his account of Commodore Stewart's journey to Mequinez, assures us, as to those that are tossed by order of the emperor of Morocco, by which their necks are frequently broke, but who sometimes escape with their lives, that such an one " must not stir a limb, if he is able, while the emperor is in sight, under penalty of being tossed again, but is forced to lie as if he were dead, which, if he should really be, nobody dares bury the body until the emperor has given orders for it."* Again, speaking of a man sawn in two, p. 157, 158, he informs us, his body, " must have remained to have been eaten by the dogs, if the emperor had not pardoned him: an extravagant custom, to pardon a man after he is dead; but unless he does so, nobody dares bury the body."

The like severity, according to this old Jewish writer, was practised at Nineveh, in the time of king Sennacherib: the supposing this was their way of proceeding explains the nature of the complaint made to this prince concerning Tobit, by one of the Ninevites; and shews how natural it was, that he should be sought for to be put to death, and should withdraw for fear, though he was a person of some consideration: as the dead that had been executed for real or pretended crimes could not be buried without leave.

The emperor of Morocco not unfrequently pardons one he has put to death, upon which he is to be buried; which illustrates what is meant by the

* P. 92.

bodies being sought for by the king, and which could not be found, as having been buried by Tobit. The king of Nineveh directing such and such to be put to death; or having perhaps slain them, like this modern African prince, with his own hands, after some pause ordered them to be buried, when they were found to have been before hand taken away, and interred, which must have been extremely displeasing to so haughty and irritated a prince as Sennacherib is represented to have been.

The supposition of the book of Tobit, that many of the Jewish captives at Nineveh were slain arbitrarily by Sennacherib, and merely because he was in an ill-humour, was an exertion of power frequently practised by Muley Ishmael of Morocco; so similar are the effects of ancient and modern despotism in the East and the South.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

Of the Pitched Bottles in which the Persians carry their Wine, &c.

SIR John Chardin describes the Persians as sometimes transporting "their wine in buck or goat-skins, which are pitched: and when the skin is good, the wine is not at all injured, nor tastes of the pitch.* At other times they send it in bottles, whose mouths are stopped with cotton, upon which

* Tome II. p. 67.

melted wax is poured, so as quite to exclude the air. They pack them up in chests in straw, ten small bottles* in each, sending the celebrated wine of Shiraz thus through all the kingdom, into the Indies, and even to China and Japan."

In the same paragraph he tells us, they make rose-water to transport to the Indies, and other things which he mentions, very good, and which will keep long, which are sent thither in bottles, which may hold about two pounds' weight each, and are sent thither in chests. These bottles are apparently stopped with wax, like those of wine, though he does not say so in express terms. Hasselquist, however, speaking of the rose-water of Egypt, which is so much praised for its fragrancý, tells us, that "an incredible quantity is distilled yearly at Fajhum, and sold in Egypt, being exported to other countries. An apothecary, who kept a shop in the street of the Franks, bought yearly 1500lbs. (about 180 gallons) which he caused to be brought to the city in copper vessels, lined with wax, selling it to great profit at Cairo. The Eastern people use the water in a luxurious manner, sprinkling it on the hands, face, head, and clothes, of those they mean to honour."†

The term *lined* does not seem to be a word chosen with accuracy here; however, it is evident *wax* was the substance made use of to pre-

* These small bottles hold, according to him, four pints and a half, (equal to nine English pints;) some are so large as to hold five of the smaller sort, made of thick glass, and wickered to prevent their breaking. Tome III. p. 145.

† P. 249.

serve this precious perfume from evaporating, or suffering any diminution as to the richness of its odour.

As to the ancient Romans, they were wont most certainly to use *pitch* to secure the wine vessels, as we learn from Horace,* whose editors have shewn that it was according to one of the precepts of Cato. However, though pitch, and other matters of a grosser kind, might be used to close up their wine vessels, those that held their perfumes were doubtless closed with wax, or some such neat cement, since they were small, and made of alabaster, and other precious materials, which would by no means have agreed with such a coarse matter as pitch.

To close this observation, and bring it to the point I have in view, I would observe, that Propertius calls the opening a wine vessel, by breaking the cement that secured it, *breaking the vessel* :

Cur ventos non ipse rogis, ingrate, petisti?

Cur nardo flammæ non oluere meæ?

Hoc etiam grave erat, nullâ mercede hyacinthos

Injicere, & *fracto busta piare cado.*

Lib. iv. El. 7. v. 31, &c.

It cannot be supposed that Propertius meant, the earthen vessel should have itself been shattered into pieces, but only that its stopple should be taken out, to do which it was necessary to break the cement. For, according to Tibullus, a con-

* Carm. Lib. iii. Od. 8. v. 9, 10, 11, 12. Ed. Delph.

temporary Roman poet, the wine used on those occasions was wont to be sprinkled on the bones, not poured like an ill-directed torrent upon them, by breaking the earthen vessel itself.

Pars quæ sola mei superabit corporis, ossa
 Incinctæ nigrâ candida veste legant :
 Et primùm annoso spargant collecta lyæo,
 Mox etiam niveo fundere lacte parent ;
 Post hæc carbaseis humorem tollere velis,
 Atque in marmoreâ ponere sicca domo.

Lib. iii. El. 2. v. 17, &c.

Agreeably to this mode of expression, I presume, we are to understand that passage of St. Mark, in which he mentions a woman's bringing an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, (or liquid nard, according to the margin,) very precious ; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head. Ch. xiv. 3.

Commentators have been perplexed how to understand this : it seemed not only a piece of vain profusion to break an alabaster box in pieces, but disagreeable to have the shivers tumbling about the head of our LORD. On the other hand, the word translated *brake* seems to signify something different from the mere shaking the vessel, to render it more liquid. But if we understand it of the breaking the *cement*, with which it was more closely stopped, that circumstance appears natural ; and such an explanation will be justified by the phraseology of Propertius, a writer of the same age.

I will only add, that it appears, from a passage

in the Septuagint, that it was not usual to break vessels of alabaster, when they made use of the perfume in them, for they understand 2 Kings xxi. 13., of such a vessel; rendering what we translate, "I will wipe Jerusalem, as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down," after this manner, "I will unanoint Jerusalem" (if I may use such a term, that is, wipe away its perfume,) "as an alabaster unanointed box is unanointed, and is turned down on its face;" that is, as an alabaster box emptied of its perfume is wiped out as clean as possible, and turned upside down. This shews these Jewish translators supposed these vessels of perfume were not wont to be broken; but the cement that fastened the cover must have been broken when they first made use of a box.

Horace supposes some of those vessels into which perfumes were put were considerably large:

.....funde *capacibus*

Unguenta de conchis.....

Carm. Lib. ii. Od. 7. v. 22, 23.

Ed. Delph.

The same is supposed in the Gospel of Saint John, chap. xii. 3, where the quantity some alabaster boxes would hold is supposed to be a pound weight of those times, or somewhat more than twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight.

Liberal as one of the temper of Horace might be, we may believe he would not wish to apply such a quantity to every guest; and our LORD accordingly supposes, verse 7, that this was more like a

funeral unction, than that of an entertainment, even of the most generous kind.

I will only add, that though a vase of alabaster was made use of when our LORD was anointed, yet Horace used the term *conchis*, which signifies *shells*, shells being, probably, the things first used for the putting up perfumes, they being principally the produce of Arabia; and the Red Sea, which washes the coast of that country, furnishing the inhabitants of it with shells very capacious for that purpose, and sufficiently convenient, as well as beautiful.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Of the ancient and modern Manner of taking an Oath in the Eastern Countries.

WHATEVER sense we put upon that circumstance of the swearing of Abraham's servant, when he was to fetch a wife for Isaac out of Mesopotamia—the *putting his hand under his master's thigh*, it is, I think, by no means to be considered as a deception, owing to a defect in Abraham's eyesight, but an intended ceremony, belonging to the solemnity of swearing.

I should hardly have made this observation, had not a learned and ingenious writer* seemed to sup-

* The honourable Daines Barrington, Esq. *Archæologia*, Vol. V. p. 125, note. The same paper furnishes the materials for the two succeeding Observations.

pose it was merely a deception : his words are these, " As the patriarchs so frequently ratify their promises by an oath, it may not be improper to observe, that the most solemn form was to raise the hand, and swear by the name of God. Gen. xiv. 22. ; xxi. 23. Abraham's servant indeed puts his hand under his master's thigh when he swears ; but this I should suppose to arise from the eyes of the patriarch being so dim that he could not distinguish whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, ' that Abraham was old and well stricken in age,' Gen. xxiv."

I cannot help expressing my surprise at this interpretation : the Hebrew historian informs us, that when Isaac was old, his eyes were so dim, that he could not see, Gen. xxvii. 1. The same is said of Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 10. ; but not a word of this kind concerning Abraham : nor do all aged people lose their eye-sight. There is no sufficient ground then, on this account, to suppose a deception. Farther, it was not the construction that Abraham put on the transaction, arising from the imperfection of his sight ; but what he previously desired his servant to do : *Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh.* Gen. xxiv. 2. Jacob requested his son Joseph to do the like, ch. xlvii. 29. It was then intended and desired by Abraham and Jacob, consequently, to be understood as a ceremony of swearing, in those times, whether we understand its true meaning, or not.

Had the historian only said, the patriarch desired his servant to swear, and that, in consequence, he put his hand under Abraham's thigh, this writer's supposition would have been then inadmissible: for the servant appears to have been too religious a person, and too respectful to his master, to have treated him in this supposed ludicrous manner. The same may certainly be said of Joseph. Both he then, and Abraham's servant, undoubtedly swore in the manner the patriarchs desired; and which they would not have desired, if it had not been thought proper in that age. Nor is it imaginable that they pretendedly lifted up their hands in swearing, in the manner this gentleman supposes they should have done, according to the custom of those times; and that both the patriarchs should be so unluckily deceived, as to think they did, when in truth they only lifted up their hands as high, and no higher, than *their* thighs. And if they had perceived the intended fraud, would they not have required them to perform the ceremony, of lifting up their hands to heaven, in the proper manner? However, the putting their hands under the thigh of each patriarch respectively, was what they themselves required. The explanation then of this writer cannot be admitted, turn it which way you will.

The present mode of swearing among the Mohammedan Arabs, that live in tents as the patriarchs did, according to de la Roque,* is, by laying their hands on the Koran: it seems they cause

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 152.

those that swear to wash their hands before they give them the book ; they put their left hand underneath, and the right hand over it ; they make them swear upon the truth of what that book contains, and call God to witness they swear true. Whether, among the patriarchs, one hand was under, and the other upon the thigh, in like manner, is not certain.

For it seems that among the ancient Jews, if they lifted up one hand to heaven, the other was frequently placed in another situation. *When the son of Shelomith cursed and blasphemed, they that heard him* (that is, the witnesses against him,) *were directed to lay their hands upon his head, and then all Israel were to stone him with stones.* Lev. xxiv. 14. If in swearing then, in attestation of their having heard him, they lifted up one hand to heaven, the other was laid on the head of the criminal. And thus the apocryphal writer of the story of Susannah tells us, the wretched elders, that bore testimony against her, laid their hands upon her head, ver. 35. In these cases, it seems, that one hand was stretched out towards heaven, calling God to witness the truth of what they testified ; the other hand laid on the accused party's head. Abraham's servant then, and Joseph, might swear, with one hand stretched out to heaven, the other under the thigh of the patriarchs. Or their manner of swearing might more nearly resemble the present Arab mode.

As the posterity of the patriarchs are described as coming out of their thigh, Gen. xlv. 26., and Exod. i. 5., (see the margin,) to which may be added

Judges viii. 30., it has been supposed, this ceremony of putting the hand under the thigh, had some relation to their believing the promise of God, to bless all the nations of the earth* by means of One that was to descend from Abraham, and from Jacob.

To return to the present Arab mode of swearing, placing one hand under, and the other above, a book, supposed to contain in writing the sure promises of God, signifies they believed what they swore to be as true as those declarations, calling God to witness. Now I would ask, whether one hand under the thigh of the patriarch might not be swearing on the truth of an unwritten promise, relating to the posterity of Abraham, which, in the language of that country and age, were considered as coming out of the thigh; and if the other hand was lifted up to heaven, as calling God to witness that they spoke from the heart, whether such management would not be very agreeable to the present Arab mode of swearing, or, at least, the Jewish form?

Mr. Barrington's explanation, whatever may be thought of this which I have now proposed, certainly cannot be just.†

* Gen. xii. 8. ch. xxiii. 15.

† Neither Mr. Barrington's explanation, nor that of Mr. Harmer, is correct. From the time that God made the covenant with Abraham, and enjoined circumcision as its *sign* and *seal*, the patriarchs swore by the covenant; and, to make the oath binding, put their hands on the *seal* of the covenant: this is what the Scriptures modestly express by *putting the hand under the thigh*, and which the Chaldee Targum of Jonathan

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

Of the Pitchers used to fetch Water.

THE vessel that the Eastern women frequently make use of, for the purpose of carrying water, is described as like our jars, and is of earth.

Bishop Pococke, in his journey from Acre to Nazareth, observed a well, where oxen were drawing up water, from whence women carried it up a hill, in earthen jars to water some plantations of tobacco.* In the next page he mentions the same thing in general, and speaks of their carrying the jars on their heads. There is no reason to suppose, this kind of vessel was appropriated to the carrying water for the purposes of agriculture; it might do equally well when they carried it for domestic uses.

Such seems to have been the sort of vessels in which the women of ancient times fetched water, for it is called a *kad* in the history of Rebecca, Gen. xxiv. 14, &c.; and I have elsewhere shewn,

ben Uzziel expresses without circumlocution, which is followed nearly in the same track by the Jerusalem Targum. שוי כרן ירך כנוררת מהולתי *pone nunc manum tuam in sectione circumcisonis mee*. This custom may seem strange to us, and perhaps our *kissing* the New Test. would not appear less so to them.

—EDIT.

* Vol. II. p. 61 and 62.

that that word signifies a jar of considerable size, in which they keep their corn, and in which, at least sometimes, they fetched their water.

The honourable Mr. Barrington, in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 121, mentions, among the other customs of the patriarchs, the women's carrying water in pitchers on their shoulders; which minute circumstance is mentioned, because the painters, in representing subjects from the patriarchal history, often offended against the *costumi*. For the same reason, it may not be improper to observe, that the pitcher, or vessel to receive the water, was probably composed of a skin, or bladder, such as Hagar carried the water in, *ασκω υδατος*, according to the Septuagint, though it is rendered in our version a *bottle*.

The want of attention to what is called the *costumi* in painting is, undoubtedly, a fault, and sometimes truly ridiculous. But I am afraid a painter would not escape the censure of a rigid critic, if he should follow this writer's ideas, in drawing Rebecca at the well. A bladder is, I believe, never used by the Eastern people for carrying of water; nor would it be a proper vessel, for that purpose, as water easily passes through a bladder, and would waste space in that hot country. Hagar would be properly drawn with a leather bottle on her shoulder, when she was sent away by Abraham into the Wilderness, for the Hebrew word *חמת chemath* seems to signify such a vessel, as well as the Greek term *ασκον υδατος* used by the Septuagint; but it would be a transgression of those rules of accuracy Mr. Barrington

would have observed, to draw Rebecca at the well with such a vessel, for the original word כַּד *kad* signifies an earthen jar, which ought to be placed somehow on her shoulder, or on her head, if we would explain ancient managements wholly by modern customs, not a leather bottle, or a vessel made of a skin, such as was given Hagar.

Instead of such a vessel, I have seen a picture of Hagar's distress, when her son was ready to die with thirst in the Wilderness, of no contemptible workmanship, with respect to the mechanical part, in which Ishmael is represented as laying his arm on an empty Virginian gourd-shell, (an American water-vessel,) and what was worse, the landscape was agreeably verdant and flowery, and the expiring youth, (of fourteen years old at least,) was represented as a lovely smiling infant of about a year and a half, perfectly unacquainted with thirst, or any other want.*

Since the above was written, I have observed a passage in Dr. Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor*, that confirms and illustrates the preceding account: "The women," says the Doctor, "resort to the fountains by their houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar, on the back, or thrown over the shoulder for water."†

This account of the jars made use of by the Greek women of the island of Tenedos may, very naturally, be understood to be a modern, but accurate, comment on what is said concerning Rebecca's fetching water.

* Compare Gen. xvii. 25., with chap. xxi. 14.

† P. 21.

The Eastern women, according to Dr. Pococke, sometimes carry their jars upon their heads; but Rebecca's was carried on her shoulder.

In such a case, the jar is not to be supposed to have been placed upright on the shoulder, but held by one of the handles, with the hand over the shoulder, and suspended in this manner on the back. Held, I should imagine, by the right hand over the left shoulder. Consequently, when it was to be presented to Abraham's servant, that he might drink out of it, it was to be gently moved over the left arm; and being suspended by one hand, while the other, probably, was placed under the bottom of the jar, it was in that position presented to Abraham's servant, and his attendants, to drink out of. *She said, Drink, my lord: and she hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.* Ver. 18.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

Of the Veils used by Women in the East.

REBECCA'S covering herself with a veil, when Isaac came to meet her, which is mentioned Gen. xxiv. 65., is to be considered, rather as a part of the ceremonial belonging to the presenting a bride to her intended husband, than an effect either of female delicacy, or desire to appear in the most attractive form.

“It is impossible,” says Mr. Barrington,* “however, that Rebecca’s *θερίσσοι* could have been the same with Tamar’s, for a veil covering the face is stated to be peculiar to harlots; I therefore rather understand that Rebecca, upon seeing her destined husband, alights off her camel to put on a clean habit, and appear as smart as possible. As for raising a veil on approaching a man, it must be remembered she had travelled with Abraham’s servant.”

Travelling before with Abraham’s head servant, and his companions, for he had several men with him,† she, doubtless, before Isaac appeared, had observed all the decencies ancient Eastern modesty required, as Mr. Barrington supposes: her covering herself then with a veil was not on that account. But neither was it, I should imagine, the effect of female solicitude to set herself off to advantage, as Mr. Barrington rather humourously supposes. It is most probable, that it was a part of the ceremonial of those times, on such occasions.

The Eastern brides are wont to be veiled in a particular manner, when presented to the bridegroom. Those that give us an account of their customs, at such times, take notice of their being veiled all over. Dr. Russell gives us this circumstance in his account of a Maronite wedding,‡

* *Archæologia*, Vol. V. p. 121.

† *Gen.* xiv. 31, 59.

‡ *Descript. of Aleppo*, Vol. II. p. 80.

which, he says, may serve as a specimen of all the rest, there being nothing materially different in the ceremonies of the different sects.*

His mentioning her being veiled quite over,† seems to express the veil being larger than usual at such time; as the colour, which, he tells us, is red,‡ is mentioned as different from that of common veils.

The veil, I suppose, that Rebecca put on, was such a one as was appropriate to such a solemnity and that she was presented to Isaac by her *nurse*, and other female attendants in form.

I do not know that it is so inconsistent as this ingenious writer supposes, if we should believe Tamar's veil was much the same as Rebecca's; both differed from those the Eastern women wear in common; but the going in procession, to meet a bridegroom, certainly was a sufficient difference, from the sitting by the way side, unattended, and even quite alone, in such a dress as was the wonted prelude to matrimonial transactions.

* Vol. II. p. 84.

† One of the plates in the first Volume of Niebuhr's *Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres Pays circonvoisins*, is a representation of a nuptial procession, where the bride is represented in this manner veiled all over, and attended by other women in common veils, which do not prevent their eyes being seen.

‡ Red gauze, p. 126.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Of the Eastern Shawls.

VESTMENTS, or parts of dress, were certainly, in ancient times, presented among other things to the great,* but there is one article that comes under that description now made use of in the East, that, probably, was never thought of two thousand years ago—I mean *shawls*.

That shawls are frequently made presents of to the great, appears from Irwin's Travels up the Red Sea, and through the Deserts of Egypt. In p. 60. he tells us, that they presented a shawl to the vizier of Yambo. In another place he observes, that the only finery worn by the great Sheikh of the Arabs in Upper Egypt was an orange-coloured shawl carelessly thrown about his shoulders.† They, it seems, had presented him, according to a preceding page,‡ with two fine shawls. It is then a part of Eastern magnificent dress, and given to the great by way of present.

Nor was it what these English gentlemen fancied might be an agreeable present to them: but he elsewhere informs us, shawls were what some of them desired might be given then by way of present. So the young sheikh that convoyed them from Cosire to the Nile, had a shawl given him, to which he had taken a liking, besides his pro-

* 2 Kings v. 26. 1 Kings x. 25. † P. 285. ‡ P. 272.

per pay, p. 187. So the avaricious and oppressive vizier of Ghinnah politely insinuated that a shawl or two would be very acceptable to him; and, accordingly, Irwin tells us, that having two fine ones belonging to his Turkish dress, which had stood him in one hundred dollars, these were presented to the vizier, p. 189.

These shawls are made, it seems, of camel's-hair, or fine Cashmirian wool; and are very valuable, according to a note on the passage of *The Tales of Inantula*.*

I mention these shawls, and the materials of which they are made, in order to remove a difficulty that may arise in some minds, upon reading the account of the dress of John the Baptist, who was clothed in raiment made of camel's hair, *Matt.* iii. 4., and *Mark.* i. 6. Could the being dressed in camel's hair ever be supposed to be a dress of mortification, or even of rural meanness, when shawls are made of that material, which are so costly, and so highly valued?

I have touched upon this matter in a preceding volume; but, as I think it may be explained more satisfactorily still, I would take the liberty of resuming the consideration of it again, among these additional Observations.

The vestments of the great, in the time of John Baptist, were purple and fine linen, *Luke* xvi. 19. The first precious on account of the dye, the other for its fineness. But woollen garments were not highly esteemed.† They did not well

* *Vol. I.* p. 205.

† See *Ezek.* xliv. 17, 18.

agree with that neatness, and freedom from ill scents, so much attended to in the East. Cashmirian wool appears not to have been known, or any wool drawn out to a greater fineness. The same may be said of camel's hair. They had not learned to manufacture it, as is now done in the East, in a manner which renders what is made of it so valuable. Possibly the hair of the Jewish camels will not now admit of being so manufactured; but if it might have been spun to that degree of fineness, it certainly was not so managed in the time of our LORD, much less in earlier ages, since we find no reference in the Scriptures to what supposes the manufacturing of camel's hair, only in the case of the Baptist, whose raiment is evidently represented as mean, if not mortifying. *What went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses*, Matt. xi. 8. They that wear shawls are such as attend the houses of kings and princes; the garments of John were of a very different kind.

In short, as our shepherds now pick up the wool the sheep lose from their backs, by means of the bushes, or other accidents, which they spin into the coarser yarn, and knit into stockings for their own wear; so it is sufficiently apparent, that the inhabitants of the Jewish deserts, where John resided, made a very coarse stuff of the hair that came off their camels, for their own immediate use, which dress John adopted when he lived among those poor people.

So we find the Tartars of our time manufac-

ture their camel's-hair into a kind of felt, with which they cover those slight frames of wood-work, which, so covered, form the habitations in which they live : but the way of life of those people is looked upon as the reverse of what is easy and pompous.*

OBSERVATION XXXI.

Curious Information concerning the Age of Sarah.

AMONG many matters in the Old Testament, which the licentious wit of Monsieur Voltaire has made the subject of improper pleasantry, is the account Moses has given us of Sarah's being sought for by two kings, when she passed for Abraham's sister, and was supposed to be at liberty to marry. Her age is the great objection, and supposed to be sufficient not only to destroy the probability of those facts, but to hold them up as just subjects of ridicule.

The well-known frequent marriages of Oriental princes with women of the lowest class, on the one hand ; and on the other, the figure that some make in those countries now, who lead a pastoral life, which cannot be contested, and which is affirmed to have been the situation of Abra-

* Baron de Tott's Mém. Part. II. p. 50.

ham,* cut off all other objections to this account of the sacred historian. But some of my readers may wish to see the difficulty arising from her age somewhat softened.

Sarah, it has been remarked, was just ten years younger than Abraham.† Consequently, as Abraham was seventy-five years old when he removed from Haran to the land of Canaan,‡ Sarah must have been at that time sixty-five. Is it possible to believe, that after that time princes could desire to associate her with their other women? Such is the objection of Voltaire, and it is proposed with a triumphant air.

I would beg leave to observe two things in reply.

In the first place, the circumstances of mankind are represented, by Moses, as considerably different in the earlier ages of the world from what they are now. The length of human life very much differed, according to Moses, from what it was in after times; and all allow that he makes this supposition. I apprehend he sup-

* “ Abram was very rich in *cattle*, in *silver*, and in *gold*,” Gen. xiii. 2. “ When Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his *trained servants*, *born in his own house*, *three hundred and eighteen*, and pursued them to Dan; and he divided himself against them, he and his servants by night, and smote them,” (namely, four Eastern kings) Gen. xiv. 14, 15. “ The children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, my lord; thou art a *mighty prince* amongst us: in the choice of our sepulchres,” &c. Gen. xxiii. 5, 6.

† For, according to Gen. xvii. 17, when Abraham was one hundred years old, Sarah was ninety.

‡ Gen. xii. 4.

poses, in like manner, the length of the middle stage of life differed from what is now known to take place. Before Isaac was born, it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women ;* but this change does not appear to have happened before coming into Canaan, yet that would have been the case, many years before had human nature undergone no alteration since her time.† The representations of Moses seem to point out, not only a change as to the length of life ; but a difference as to the approach of the imperfections of old age. Sarah's capacity then for the having of children might continue till eighty, or near ninety, as well as a modern Aleppine lady find those powers continue until forty, and sometimes forty-five ; and Abraham might be in a state of no greater decay at one hundred and seventy-five, than is among us in men at eighty-five, who are considered as persons that wear well.‡ This seems visibly the representation of Moses.

And as there are occasional deviations, in these respects, from the usual course of things among us, from time to time, unknown causes might operate generally, in those early periods, in retarding matters. Moses appears to have supposed such a difference existed, and his accounts are to be explained accordingly.

If then it ceased not to be with Sarah after the

* Gen. xviii. 11.

† Russell's Hist. of Aleppo.

‡ I have since remarked, that the author of the Letters of the German and Polish Jews to Monsieur Voltaire had made a similar observation.

manner of women until she was about eighty,* and her comeliness until that time as great as in many women in our country at forty, her age, when sought for, by the king of Egypt,† (which, according to the common chronological tables, was when she was about sixty-six, and, consequently, according to the representations of Scripture, when she had all the agreeableness of a woman of three and thirty among us,) her age, I say, cannot be considered as a circumstance that renders the account incredible.

What her age was when Abimelech the king of Gerar took her, Gen. xx. 1, 2., does not appear. She was older, and probably some years; but, as the particulars of this history do not appear to be ranged in nice order, we cannot say how many.

The second thing I would mention is, that though the modern kings of the East have many women, and choose the persons most agreeable to them out of all their subjects; yet for one reason or other, they sometimes pitch upon such as are not very young. The ancient princes then of that country, it must be allowed, might do the same. Sir John Chardin has given us, in his *Travels*, a remarkable instance of this kind, which I would here set down, after premising that it relates to a

* It is certain, that she gave not over expecting children until she had been ten years in the land of Canaan, from what Moses has said, Gen. xvi. 1, 2, 3., when she was seventy-five years old.

† Gen. xii. 14, 15.

princess of Georgia, and a celebrated and mighty Persian monarch.

Abas, surnamed the Great, endeavouring to make a total conquest of Georgia, Taimuras, who then reigned over part of that country as a dependent prince, sent his mother to try to accommodate matters with him. This princess was at that time a nun, having assumed that character upon her becoming a widow. The nuns of that country make no vows, nor quit their former abode; they only wear a religious habit, and live more retired than they did. Mariana, or Ketavané, (for the Georgian princess was called by both names,) set out with a great train, and magnificent presents. She made so much haste, that Abas had not left Ispahan when she arrived there. She threw herself at his feet, implored pardon for her son, and made such submissions as she apprehended might appease the king.

This princess was then considerably advanced in age;* but is certain was still handsome. Abas fell in love with her, or pretended to do so, the day he saw her. He desired her to embrace his religion, and said he would marry her. This princess, attached to her religion and a life of chastity, still more than she hated the confinement of the Persian queens, refused to comply, with a virtue and firmness that could not be conquered, and quite astonishing in a Georgian lady. Abas, irritated by a refusal, or making this a pretence,

* Her age is not distinctly mentioned, but she was then a grandmother.

(for it is believed that he intended not to marry Ketavané, but in order to take vengeance on Taimuras,) sent the princess a prisoner to a distant place, and caused her two grandsons to be castrated and become Mohammedans,* whom Taimuras had sent to him as hostages. After which he set out for Georgia. Ketavané remained a prisoner many years, and afterwards was removed to Shiras, where she suffered a cruel martyrdom, in the year 1624, a considerable time after Abas had conquered all Georgia. He then wrote to the governor of Shiras to force Ketavané to embrace Mohammedanism at any rate, and to proceed to the utmost extremities, of promises, threatenings, and even blows, should he not succeed. The governor shewed the order to the princess, supposing the sight of it might prevail, but he was disappointed. Torments could not subdue this heroic and holy soul. She suffered a variety of them, and died upon burning coals, with which they were tormenting her, having endured a martyrdom of eight years for JESUS CHRIST, so much the more bitter, as they were continually varying her torments, and daily renewing them.

Her body, thrown out on a dunghill, was taken away in the night by the Augustinian monks, who were then settled at Shiras, embalmed, put into a coffin, and secretly sent to Taimuras by one of their companions.

Such is the substance of the story,† which shews, that it is by no means an incredible thing that an

* The Georgians are Christians.

† Voy. Tome I. p. 12

Eastern prince, with a great variety of women belonging to him, might, nevertheless, wish to add another, in middle life, to the rest, either really from affection, or for political reasons. And it shews, that if it was not from an affection he had really conceived, which yet the violence with which he afterwards treated her seems to indicate, his love, like that of Amnon in the Old Testament,* turning into hatred; yet that at least it was not so improbable an event, but that he might very well make it pass for an affection he had conceived for her. Abas was too refined a politician to make use of a pretence that was unnatural, and even absurd.

Nor is this the only instance of this kind that Sir John has given us, in his account of his travels. Presently after this story, he gives an account of a princess of Mingrelia, who, after having married a petty Christian prince thereabouts, was married to a Persian nobleman, whose name was Rustam Chan. Rustam, he says, died in 1640. His adopted son succeeded him, whom the Persian monarch caused to be circumcised when young. When Rustam died, the Princess Mary, his widow, understood, that from too advantageous representations of her beauty, made to the king of Persia, his majesty had ordered she should be sent to him. She was advised to fly into Mingrelia, or to conceal the place of her abode. She took a different course; for being very sensible that there was no place in all Persia where the king would not find

* 2 Sam. xiii. 15.

her out, she shut herself up for three days in the fortress of Trifflis ; which was, in truth, nothing less than the delivering herself up to the mercy of him that wanted to have her in his power. She submitted herself all this time to the inspection of the wives of the commander ; and having sent for him afterwards into her apartment, she caused him to be told, that upon the testimony of those ladies there, who had seen her,* he might write word to the king, that she was not of such a beauty as to be desired by him ; that she was in years, and not altogether straight. That she conjured his majesty to permit her to end her days in her own country. At the same time she sent the king a present of a large quantity of gold and silver, and four young damsels of extraordinary beauty. After sending away her present, this princess would see nobody. She gave herself up to devotion, giving many alms to poor people, that they might pray for her. At the end of three months, an order came from the king to Canavas Chan (the adopted son of her husband Rustam) to marry her. He received the order with joy, as this princess Mary was very rich ; and he married her, though he had at that time another wife. He always testified a great regard for her, on the account of her great wealth.†

Such is the account, in short ; and it proves, with the other, that it is very possible for reports to be

* Il pouvoit ecrire au Roi, qu' elle n'etoit pas d'une beauté à se faire desirer, qu'elle étoit agée, et meme un peu contre-faite.

† P. 129, 130.

raised, in those countries, of the extraordinary beauty of some of the women there; that their being in middle life will not prevent such reports, or hinder princes from seeking to add them to those they are already possessed of; and that the mere proving they are not young, has not been thought sufficient, by the parties concerned, to prevent disagreeable consequences.

The great preservative from such applications, used among the people of Georgia, is to marry their daughters that are handsome very young. And it seems that they are very cautious not to violate such connexions, even though they are infants that are so married, and that they do not easily allow themselves to take them away from the families to which they belong.*

If such attention is wont to be paid to rights of marriage in those countries, their whole history shews, their princes are not very scrupulous as to the taking away the lives of considerable people, when they stand in their way.

And if the like spirit was common in Egypt and Gerar, in the time of Abraham, it is neither incredible, nor very unlikely, that the beauty of Sarah should be much talked of, or that Abraham should be apprehensive of his life on that account.†

* P. 130.

† The like appears in the History of Rebekah, Gen. xxvi. 7.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

*Defence of the Scripture Account of Dinah,
against the objections of Voltaire.*

MONSIEUR VOLTAIRE objects in like manner,* to the probability of the Old Testament History, in the account given us there of the dishonour done to Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, by a Hivite prince in Canaan, Gen. xxxiv. 1, 2, who, he supposes, was too young to have suffered such an injury, or to have excited the libidinousness of Shechem.

The age he is pleased to assign her, when this unhappy affair happened, is six years only. As he has not informed us, from what documents he derived this discovery, we are at liberty to contest it.

Those that added little chronological notes to our English Bibles, have supposed it did not happen until seven years after Jacob's return from Padan-Aram; for they set down the year 1739 before CHRIST for the year of his return, and 1732 as the year when Dinah was dishonoured. Whether this computation be exact or not, there is reason to believe there could not be less than seven years between Jacob's return and that unhappy event. For as Jacob was but twenty years in all, in Padan-Aram, (or Mesopotamia,) Gen. xxx. 41.; and was seven years there before he married, Gen. xxxix. 20—27.; Reuben could be but twelve years

* White Bull, second part, p. 19.

old when Jacob returned, Simeon eleven, and Levi ten ; and seven years after Simeon could be only eighteen, and Levi seventeen ; and we cannot well suppose, that, under that age, they would have used their swords with such boldness, in resentment for the affront offered to their sister, as to set upon the Hivite prince and his people, though they were in a wounded state, and though these youths might be accompanied by some of their father's servants.

And if Levi was then seventeen, and Judah sixteen, Leah might have ceased bearing four years ; and, becoming pregnant again, might have presented Jacob with a fifth and a sixth son, and after them a daughter, who might be ten years of age, when Simeon was eighteen. But the suspension of Leah's child-bearing might very well be estimated at less than four years ; and it might be a year or two more than seven years before the event happened.

Reckoning her, however, only at ten years of age when Shechem treated her after this manner, the two following citations will prove there was nothing incredible in it, and that a young libidinous Eastern prince may be supposed to have been guilty of such a fact.

The first citation shall be from Niebuhr's account of Arabia : ' I have heard speak in Persia of one that was a mother at thirteen : they there marry girls at nine years of age ; and I knew a man whose wife was no more than ten years old when the marriage was consummated.' P. 63.

The other is from Dr. Shaw's *Travels and Ob-*

servations. Speaking of the inhabitants of Barbary, he says, 'The men, indeed, by wearing only the tiara, or a skull-cap, are exposed so much to the sun, that they quickly attain the swarthiness of the Arab ; but the women, keeping more at home, preserve their beauty until they are thirty : at which age they begin to be wrinkled, and are usually past child-bearing. It sometimes happens that one of these girls is a mother at eleven, and a grandmother at two and twenty.'* P. 241, 242. If they become mothers at eleven, they must have had intimate intercourse with the male sex at ten, or thereabouts ; and this cannot be supposed to be very extraordinary, when the daughter of such an one is supposed to become a mother too by eleven.

It cannot then be incredible that Shechem should cast his eyes on Dinah at ten years of age, and should desire to marry her at that age ; if human nature in the East then was similar, in that respect, to what it is now. But she might be considerably older than ten when this affair happened, for aught that is said in the book of Genesis relative to this matter.

* I knew a lady, a native of St. Helena, who had her two first children at separate births, before she was fourteen years of age.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

Of purchasing wives in the East.

THE Bedouin Arabs are said to make a purchase of their wives ; and it may be supposed, that the patriarchs, who lived much the same kind of life under tents, had the same usage : but we are not to imagine, that the sheep and the oxen, the servants, with the camels and asses, mentioned Gen. xii. 16., acquired by Abraham in Egypt, were paid by Pharaoh to Abraham in exchange for Sarah : nor that they were simply the fruits of his industry and skill in the arts of the pastoral life. Neither the one nor the other is to be understood, to have been pointed out in that passage.

That the modern Arabs who live under tents purchase their wives, is affirmed by de la Roque : “ properly speaking, a young man that would marry, must buy his wife ; and fathers, among the Arabs, are never more happy than when they have many daughters. This is a principal part of the riches of a house. Accordingly, when a young man would treat with a person whose daughter he is inclined to marry, he says to him, Will you give me your daughter for fifty sheep ; for six camels ; or for a dozen cows ? &c. If he is not rich enough to make such offers, he will propose the giving her to him for a mare, or a young colt : considering, in the offer, the merit of young women ; the rank of

her family ; and the circumstances of him that desires to marry her. When they are agreed on both sides, the contract is drawn up by him that acts as *cadi* or judge among these Arabs," &c.*

Traces of this custom may be remarked in the patriarchal history. Thus Shechem, the son of Hamor, an Hivite prince of the land of Canaan, who was extremely desirous of marrying Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, said to Jacob, and his sons, by whom he apparently supposed Jacob was influenced, as to refusing and complying ; and if he complied, as to the terms on which he would consent she should become his wife ; *Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me : but give me the damsel to wife.* And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully,† &c. In these views only, I apprehend, the sons of Jacob could be supposed to be concerned in the disposal of Dinah. However, we see plainly Shechem proposed both a dowry and a gift, according to our translation : that is, a settlement of what should afterwards be the wife's to support her, and do what she pleased with, in case of his death, or her being divorced by him ; and the other a present in hand made to the father, to consent that his daughter should become the wife of him that made that present.

But though I question the exactness of the translation, since I find מוֹהָר *mohar*, the first of the two

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 222.

† Gen. xxxiv. 12, 13.

words, sometimes signifies a *gift*, which could not be intended for futurity, and particularly not for a dowry, of which we have an instance 1 Sam. xviii. 25., which, though called a *dowry* in our translation, could not possibly mean any thing but a present to the father, according to custom, to induce him to be willing to give Michal, his daughter, to David for his wife; so in some other places, where it may signify a dowry, it may as well signify the gift given to the father, as a dowry settled on the wife. So the word may be understood, Exodus xxii. 16, 17. But whether the first of these two words in Gen. xxiv. signifies a dowry, or not, it appears from some of these places, a gift was to be given to the father. I would add, that probably the second word מַתָּן *matan*, translated gift, means the dowry properly speaking—the gift to the bride.

But I should hardly think a gift of this kind was, according to their usages, to be given to Abraham, as Sarah's brother. A brother does not appear to have had such a right. Accordingly we find, that when Abraham's servant made a contract in his master's name, that Rebekah should be Isaac's wife, we have no account of any previous present given, or promised to Laban her brother, though after it was agreed upon, and the matter settled, the servant *ex abundanti*, and as an expression of friendship and generosity, *brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, as well as raiment, which he gave to Rebekah, giving also to her brother, and to her mother, precious things.* Gen. xxiv. 53.

When then the xiith of Gen. (ver. 16.) gives an

account of many valuable things that Abraham acquired in Egypt, whither he went to avoid a famine, I cannot think they were the acquisitions arising from his trading, in a common way, with the Egyptians, since these acquisitions are not only ascribed to the favour of Pharaoh, "He entreated Abram well for her sake;" but the sheep and the camels he became possessed of there, would, in trafficking, have been the very things he would have sold, in order to obtain corn for himself and family. On the other hand, I cannot suppose it was a valuable consideration paid by Pharaoh to Abraham, to permit him to espouse one that was taken to be his sister (as a brother appears not to have had such a right;) it remains, therefore, that it is to be understood to be a gift of generosity, like that made to Laban, mentioned in Gen. xxiv.

Perhaps we may wonder that, in this enumeration of particulars, no mention is made of corn or bread, (especially as it was a time of famine,) or other provisions of the vegetable kind, as figs, raisins, &c. nor yet any mention made of silver, gold, and precious vestments, and other rich things produced in that country, or imported into it;* but we are to remember, it appears from Gen. xiii. 2, that there was no design to give us a complete catalogue, on the one hand; and on the other, that the particulars that are mentioned, were se-

* Especially if we recollect what it was Joseph gave to his brethren, in such a state, Gen. xlv. 23, and what he sent to his father at the same time, ver. 23.

lected to explain the reason of the following account, of the parting of Abraham from Lot, which became necessary on account of the great multiplication of their cattle and servants.*

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

Of the Rock-Altars in the Holy Land.

THERE must have been something particular in the aspect of Judea, at least very different from that part of England where I am writing these Observations, since we find mention made of a rock, more than once, of a proper form for offering sacrifices on, which could not easily have been found in the county of Suffolk : the altar here must have been some hillock of earth, or some humble structure of loose stones piled up in haste.

But the circumstances I am referring to, in the histories of Gideon and Manoah,† are extremely

* Gen. xiii. 6, 7, 8.

† “ Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord, I pray thee, let us detain thee, until we shall have made ready a kid for thee. And the angel of the Lord said unto Manoah, ‘ Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread : and, if thou wilt offer a burnt-offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord ; for Manoah knew not that it was an angel of the Lord. . . So Manoah took a kid, with a meat-offering, and offered it *upon a rock* unto the Lord : and the angel did wondrously, and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass when the flame went up toward heaven *from off the altar*, that the angel of the Lord ascended in the flame of the *altar*,’ &c. Judges xiii. 15—20. Here we see the *rock* was made use of as an altar,

well illustrated, by some things mentioned occasionally by Doubdan, in the account of his journey to the Holy Land, for he speaks of many rocks which he found rising up out of the earth there, and some as parts of great rocks fallen down. Some of them are described in such a manner, as shews they resembled altar-tombs, or altars. It will not be improper to produce some citations here from this writer.

Speaking of his returning from a town called St. Samuel, to Jerusalem, by a way leading to the sepulchres of the judges of Israel, he tells us, p. 98, 99. that he found them in a great field, planted with vines, in which were great and mighty rocks, which rose out of the earth. Among them, one, near the way-side, was so large, as to be hollowed out into several rooms; in whose sides were long and narrow holes cut out, proper for placing the dead in, even with the floor. When he was at Joppa, waiting to embark, upon his return, he describes himself, and companion, as placing themselves, after they had walked until

and is so called. Such altar-like rocks seem not to have been very rare in that country: for we read elsewhere in that book, "Gideon went in and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of flour: the flesh he put in a basket, and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out to him under the oak, and presented it. And the angel of God said to him, 'Take the flesh, and the unleavened cakes, and *lay them upon this rock*, and pour out the broth.' And he did so. Then the angel of the LORD put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes: and there arose up fire *out of the rock*, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes." Judges vi. 19—21.

they were tired, on the beach, viewing some Greek pilgrims, who were also waiting to take ship, and who amused themselves with dancing on the shore ; I say, he describes himself and companion as placing themselves in the shade of a great rock, *newly fallen down from the mountains*, p. 455. Rocks then appear in this country here and there : some in their original situation, rising out of the ground ; others are fragments, that have been detached from rocky eminences, and have fallen down on the ground below.

Of this considerable number of rocks, some were flat, or nearly flat, on the top, so as conveniently enough to be used for altars. There are some such now found in that country. Visiting Mount Olivet, Doubdan found, near the garden of Gethsemanè, a great reddish rock, smooth and polished, rising about two feet from the ground, on which were three small protuberances, which he was told served for pillows for St. Peter, St. John, and St. James, to sleep upon, as they lay on the top of this rock, when our LORD was in his agony in that garden. p. 107. If really used by those apostles to sleep upon, no art was used by them to make it flat and convenient for lying on ; and if not, we know of no use that it can be imagined to have been designed for, that should have occasioned it to have been cut into that shape : it appears then to have been a natural accident.

At p. 161, we find an account of their meeting with a rocky stone rooted in the earth, a good foot high, in the middle of their road, on which they

were told John the Baptist was sometimes wont to take his repose. This supposes it was tolerably flat. Others might be mentioned.*

Rocks then, which might conveniently enough be made use of as altars, were not unfrequent in that country : which illustrates those parts of the histories of two of the judges, who are represented as placing their sacrifices on rocks near their respective habitations.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

The Water which Samson met with did not spring out of the Ass' Jaw-Bone.

It is rather surprising, that men of sense, as well as learning, should be so extremely fond of the *marvellous* as to suppose the place from whence the water was brought, which quenched the thirst of Samson, the judge of Israel, was a hollow place *in the jaw-bone of the ass*, with which he slew a thousand of the Philistines ; when the sacred history informs us, that the place of this exploit was on that account denominated *Lehi*, or the *Jaw-bone*. All then that this passage of Scripture affirms is, that in the place where Samson then was, and which, from this transaction,

* P. 107, and p. 125.

he called *Lehi*, or the *Jaw-bone*, there was a *hollow place* which God clave, from whence a fountain flowed, which relieved Samson when ready to perish, and which continued to yield a considerable supply of water, at the time this sacred book was written, and possibly may flow to this day.

For Monsieur Doubdan, in one single day, when he visited the country about Jerusalem, met with two such places; and his account of them is so picturesque, and tends to give such a pleasing view of that country, that I apprehend my Reader will be pleased with his relation of what he observed that day, as to such matters.

On Easter Monday, the first of April, 1652, he set out, he informs us, “with about twenty in company, to visit the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They went the same road the two disciples are supposed to have taken, when our LORD joined them, of which we read in the xxivth of Luke, when he made their hearts to burn within them. A convent was afterwards built in the place where our LORD is imagined to have met them. Only some pieces of the walls of free-stone are now remaining, with some vaults and half-broken arches, and heaps of rubbish, together with a great cistern full of water, derived partly from rain, and partly from the springs in the mountain there, particularly from a most beautiful and transparent fountain, a little above it, which breaks out at the farther end of the grotto, naturally hollowed out in the hard rock, and which is over-hung with small trees, where they made a considerable stop to refresh themselves. The water of this spring

running by a channel into the cistern, and afterwards turning a mill which was just by the cistern, and belonged to the monastery, and from thence flowed, as it still does, into the torrent-bed of that valley, from whence David collected the five smooth stones* (of which one proved fatal to Goliath.)

Here we see a hollow place, a grotto, in which the God of nature had divided the rock for the passage of the water of a beautiful spring. It was a grotto in Lehi, in which God, on this occasion, made the water to gush out, and run in a stream into the adjoining country, where the exhausted warrior stood.

What Doubdan says of that spring's continuing to flow into the bed of the torrent in that valley to this day, at which spring he took his first repast, gives a natural explanation of what the writer of the Book of Judges meant, when he says, *Wherefore he called the name thereof Enhakkore, which is in Lehi, unto this day* : that is, which spring continued to flow from that grotto to the day in which he wrote, in contradistinction from some springs which had been known to have been stopped, by some of the many earthquakes which are so frequent in that country, or by some other operation of Providence.†

* Page 91 92. Particulièrement d'une tres-belle et claire fontaine qui est un peu plus haut, dans le fonds d'une grotte naturellement taillée dans une dure roche, ombragée d'arbrisseaux où nous demeurâmes assez longtemps à nous rafraîchir, &c.

† As has happened in Italy, according to Mr. Addison, in his beautiful letter from that country :

The same day pursuing their journey, they came to another fountain, adorned with free-stone, and dignified by being named the Fountain of the Apostles, where the way parted; the left-hand road leading them to Emmaus, which they visited: then turning back to the Fountain of the Apostles, they took the right-hand road, which led them to a village full of cattle and fowls,* by which the inhabitants were greatly enriched, named *Bedon*: from whence they went to a town called *St. Samuel*, where that prophet is supposed to have been buried, anciently Rama of Silo: from whence they proceeded to an excellent fountain, called *St. Samuel's*, hollowed out in the heart of a mighty rock, shaded over by small trees, where they stopped to dine, sitting on the grass, in the shade. In taking his repast, he could not but admire the extreme abstemiousness of the Armenian bishops and the Maronite monk, who, though great intreaty was used, would eat nothing but herbs, (without salt, without oil, or vinegar,) together with bread, and drinking nothing but water, not so much as a single drop of wine, excepting

“ Sometimes, misguided by the tuneful throng,
I look for streams immortaliz'd in song,
That, lost in silence and oblivion, lie,
(*Dumb are their fountains, and their channels dry,*)
Yet run for ever by the Muse's skill,
And in the smooth description murmur still.”

* Which circumstance was not often to be remarked in the ancient Jewish villages, since little mention is made of fowls in the Old Testament. See Vol. III. p. 145.

the Maronite, who drank a little, and eat an egg, it being their Lent.*

I admit, that possibly all that the sacred writer meant, was that God cleft a hollow place in the earth, containing a hidden reservoir of water, and which continued to flow, receiving fresh supplies from springs, after an outlet was once made for the discharge of its water. But the understanding the account as referring to an opening of the earth or rock, in the farther end of a cave or grotto, is throwing energy into the words ; is very amusing to the imagination ; and agrees with other instances of that kind in this country, two of which Doubdan met with, in one day, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

Vineyards rare, even among Christians, under the Mohammedan Government.

THE Mohammedans not only consider themselves as forbidden by their law to drink wine ; but their zeal is sometimes so impetuous, as to prevent their Christian and Jewish subjects absolutely from making it, and at other times, of greater relaxation,

* P. 98. Passant un peu plus outre, nous allâmes trouver une excellente fontaine que porte le mesme nom, creusée dans le cœur d'une puissante roche, ombragée de petits arbrisseaux, où nous nous arrestâmes pour disner sur l'herbe, à la fraischeur, &c.

to throw difficulties in their way, that are not a little perplexing : it is owing to this that we so seldom meet with any mention made now of vineyards in the Holy Land ; and that those that we have an account of are so slovenly managed.

I was struck with the following account of Monsieur Doubdan. Having visited Emmaus, mentioned Luke xxiv. 13., and returning to Jerusalem, in his way thither he, at about four miles' distance from thence, was shewn the *sepulchres of the judges of Israel*. He goes on, " These sepulchres are in a great field planted with vines, which in all this country trail on the ground, very indifferently cultivated. There one sees great and mighty rocks which rise out of the ground, among which there is one, near the way-side, in which is a porch cut out with the chissel, about two toises long, seven or eight feet in breadth, and the same in height. Out of this porch you enter, with a light you are obliged to carry, through a small door embellished with many flowers and morisco-work, cut out of the same rock, into a large room," &c. going on to describe these ancient sepulchres.*

This is a very unfavourable account of the vineyards of that country in later times, this slovenly mode of cultivation being supposed to be universal there. It might not be so however anciently. Some, indeed, might be left to trail in this manner on the ground, under which the Benjamites might be very well concealed, when they surprised the virgins of Shiloh;† but those

* P. 98, 99.

† Judges xxi. 20, 21.

passages of Scripture, that speak of *sitting for pleasure* under their vines, suppose, very evidently, that some of them rose to a considerable height, whether by climbing up trees, twisting themselves about treillages, or being supported merely by stakes.

Doubdan mentions nothing of the vine-dressers singing when he travelled through these vineyards : but as the Eastern people are wont to sing in their employments, so St. Jerom supposed those that pruned the vines near Bethlehem, where he lived, were wont to sing in his time when pruning them ;* so the Prophet Isaiah distinguishes between the softer singing of those that pruned, and the more noisy mirth of the time of vintage, Isaiah xvi. 10. *Gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field ; and in the vineyards shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting : the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses ; I have made their vintage shouting to cease.*

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

Of the Memorials of the Dead in the Holy Land.

THE memorials of the dead, that are now found in Judea, are of different kinds ; it seems it was so anciently.

* Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens, alleluia decantat. Sudans messor psalmis se avocat, et curva attondens vitem jalce vinitor, aliquid Davidicum canit. Hæc sunt in hæc provinciâ carmina. Ep. ad Marcellam, Tom. I. p. 127.

When Doubdan set out to visit the remarkable places of the valley of Jehoshaphat, one of the first things he mentions, was a small place planted with trees, and inclosed with walls, which was the sepulchre of a Moor.* He was afterwards conducted to a rock, above ground, which was brought by the chissel into the form of a little building, with a spire of considerable height, which it seems is an addition to the rock: this too is supposed to be an ancient sepulchre, and the antiquarians of that country assign it to Absalom.† Another sepulchre, hewn in like manner out of an insulated rock, but not with a pyramidal top, is shewn as that of Zechariah the son of Barachiah.‡ Between the accounts of these two memorials of the dead, he gives us a description of the burial-place of the modern Jews, in which are common graves, like our's, covered with one, two, or three stones, badly polished, and without ornament.

Here we see three different kinds of memorials for the departed:—trees, buildings, or what resemble them, and flat grave-stones.

A like difference appears to have obtained anciently : Jacob raised a building, or pillar, as it is called in our translation, over the grave of Rachel ;§ it was an oak that kept up the remem-

* P. 102. + P. 112. † P. 113.

§ Gen. xxxv. 20. Whatever kind of erection the original word might signify, that which is shewn for it at this time is a building, but it might have been a single stone, though not a tree. Doubdan's account of what is now supposed to be her tomb, is, that it is a large dome of masonry, without any ornament, supported by four large square pillars, which form the

brance of that place, where the same Jacob buried Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, as we are told in the same chapter.* The tree, under which the men of Jabesh buried the bones of king Saul, was selected, being designed for the same purpose of keeping the exact place of his interment in remembrance.

Probably some mark of distinction was set about these ancient sepulchral trees, as a wall was built round those that formed a memorial for the Moor in the valley of Jehoshaphat, perhaps something of stone-work : either three or four single stones pitched round it ; or a greater number, forming a closer kind of fence. Such obtained among the Greeks of former times, according to Homer in his twenty-third Iliad :†

‘ Yon aged trunk, a cubit from the ground ;
Of some one stately oak the last remain,
Or hardy fir, unperished with the rain,
Inclos'd with stones, conspicuous from afar,
And round, a circle for the wheeling car,
(Some tomb perhaps of old the dead to grace,') &c.

The mention of Rebecca's nurse leads me to set down a passage in Monsieur Savary's Letters on Egypt, which an inquisitive and ingenious friend communicated to me very lately, in which Savary,

same number of arches, and that underneath is a tomb of the same materials, stone and mortar, made in the fashion of a great old chest, with a roundish lid. The workmanship very coarse. The whole surrounded with a low wall, in which inclosure he observed two other small tombs, of the same shape with the great one. P. 128, 129.

* Ver. 8.

† Ver. 327, 328.

speaking of the Egyptian women, and their manner of nursing their children, says, ‘ When circumstances compel them to have recourse to a nurse, she is not looked upon as a stranger. She becomes part of the family, and passes the rest of her life in the midst of the children she has suckled. She is honoured and cherished like a second mother.’

So this Syrian nurse continued until her death with Rebecca, and was buried with great solemnity of mourning; since that oak was from that time distinguished by the name of the Oak of Weeping.*

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

Curious Illustration of Hebrews xi. 37, 38.

THE Epistle to the Hebrews describes some of the ancient sufferers for piety and virtue, as driven out from the society of their countrymen, and wandering about, like miserable outcasts, in deserts and mountains, with no better vestments than sheepskins and goat-skins;† referring, probably, to some

* The mourning for Jacob, the head of the family, was kept in remembrance in much the same way, occasioning Atad’s threshing-floor to be denominated *Abel Mizraim*—the mourning of the Egyptians. Gen. l. 10, 11.

† Ch. xi. 37, 38.—*They wandered about in sheep-skins, and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy :) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.*

in the beginning of the opposition made by the Maccabee family, to the attempts of the Syrian princes to force the Jewish people to abandon the religion of their forefathers, and unite with the Heathens in their idolatrous customs.* It may be acceptable to the Reader to learn, that there are numbers of such miserable outcasts from common society, in that very country, to this day : not indeed on a religious account, for they are all Mohammedans ; but from national prejudices, and distinctions arising from that source.

Doubdan frequently met with such in his peregrinations in that country. He sometimes calls them Moors, by which, I apprehend, is meant the descendants from the old natives of that country, who inhabited it before the Turks (a branch of the Tartars) over-ran these parts of Asia. Some of the Arabs he met with are not described as in more elegant circumstances : these are another Eastern nation, who are attached to the living in tents, and will by no means be induced to dwell in more fixed habitations, and commonly dwell in deserts, and very retired places.

Upon leaving Jerusalem, in order to embark at Joppa, they halted some little time in a short plain, not far from the Holy City, to give time to the caravan to assemble, with which they were to travel. While waiting there, he says, “ we saw six Bedouins pass along,” (he means these wandering

* 1 Maccab. ii. 28, 29, 30.—It appears by a clause in the last of those verses, that they had their cattle with them, from whence their miserable clothing seems to have been derived.

Arabs,) " who had no other clothing than a sheep-skin on their shoulders, and a rag about their loins, emaciated and burnt up with the heat, of a horrible aspect, their eyes fiery, and each with a great club. These people are Arabs, and the greatest robbers in all the country."*

He describes some of the Moors in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, who live in the village where the shepherds dwelt to whom the angel of the LORD appeared, according to the tradition of the country, in much the same manner. He says, " it is a poor hamlet, of twenty or twenty-five hovels." That he was informed " its inhabitants are some of the poorest and most miserable people of the country. That they saw some who looked like true savages, almost entirely naked, sun-burnt, black as a coal, and shining with the grease and oil with which they rub themselves, horrid in their countenances, with a surly voice, with which they keep mumbling, and terrify those that are not accustomed to meet them. More especially when, upon their going to visit a certain place to which their devotion led them, they saw four poor miserable Moors running to them across the fields, huge, frightful creatures, all of them naked and sun-burnt, two armed with bows and arrows, the other two with cudgels, threatening to use them with severity, if they did not give them money."†

The same scenery is exhibited in other places, and represents, excepting the violence, an accurate picture of those poor persecuted Hebrews, who

* P. 438. †P. 145, 146.

wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, destitute of many of the comforts of life, emaciated, tormented with the burning heat of the sun, and afflicted with many other bitternesses in that wild and rough state.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

Of the Midianites, or Ishmaelites, to whom Joseph was sold.

LEARNED men seem to have given themselves uneasiness, very unnecessarily, about the caravan to which Joseph was sold, which company of people are sometimes called Ishmaelites, sometimes Midianites:* had the account been given us by two different writers, and one had said Joseph was sold to some Ishmaelites, and the other to some Midianites, it might have been said there was a contradiction between them; but as one and the same writer, in the same paragraph, and even in the same verse, makes use of these two different names, it is apparent that they were to him indifferent. I would add, that probably those that in the age in which this book was written travelled over the deserts, to or through Judea, with camels, were called, in a loose and general way, Ishmaelites, and that when they came up with the sons of Jacob, they were found of that particular tribe called Midianites.

* Gen. xxxvii.—Three times they are called Ishmaelites, ver. 26, 27, 28. ; and once Midianites, ver. 28.

I am very sensible that, according to the Book of Genesis, Midian was a son of Abraham by Keturah, Gen. xxv. 2. ; consequently his descendants were not Ishmaelites : but as the several tribes of the Ishmaelites, and those descended from Keturah, all dwelt in the East country,* that is in Arabia Petræa or Deserta, they might, by the time this book was written, come to be considered as one body of people, under the common name of Ishmaelites, as the several tribes of Israel came afterwards to be denominated Jews, though the tribe of Judah was but one out of twelve or thirteen different tribes that descended from Jacob.†

It is certain that, according to d'Herbelot, the Arabs of later times have considered themselves as Ishmaelites, (*Voy. art Ismaelioun,*) and call Ishmael the father of their nation (*art. Ismael, fils d'Abraham,*) though there are many tribes of the Arabs who are not Ishmaelites properly speaking, being descended from Joctan the son of Heber, according to d'Herbelot. The Oriental writers, by a mistake indeed, suppose Midian was the grandson of Abraham by his son Ishmael, instead of being his son by Keturah, but a very easy one, as all the Arab tribes acknowledge Ishmael as their father, though many of them are not descended from him.

D'Herbelot farther informs us, that the Mussulmans suppose that the Arabs that travel about with their merchandise took different roads, ac-

* Ch. xxv. 6.

† So Holland, in our time, often means all the seven confederated provinces, though, strictly speaking, it is the name only of one of them.

cording to the different seasons : Gaza, in the confines between Syria and Egypt, being their mart in summer time, on account of the freshness of the air to be enjoyed in Syria ; whereas they went to the southern parts of Arabia (or Yemen) in winter, (the heat being excessive there,) in the opposite part of the year. This, according to them, was an old establishment among them, Haschem, the grandfather of Mohammed, dying at Gaza, in one of these summer commercial journies.*

If this account may be depended on, Joseph was sold to the Midianites some time in the summer ;† and these Ishmaelites are not to be understood to have personally conveyed him into Egypt, but stopping at Gaza, to dispose of him there to Egyptian merchants. This last might not be exactly the case ; but would not, however, be inconsistent with the sacred history, understood in that lax and popular manner in which we may believe it was designed to be considered.

* Art. Gazza.

† Which appears to have been the fact from other considerations—the feeding the flock at such a distance from home ; and the dryness of the pit into which they let him down.

OBSERVATION XL.

Manner of carrying their Children in the East.

PIRTS says,* the Algerines never take either apprentices or hired servants; but “such as have occasion for servants buy slaves,† and bring them up to their household work, as our servant-maids are here in England; who, as soon as they have done up all their work in the house, are usually allowed the liberty to go abroad, and visit their country-men, commonly bearing each a child with them; and if the child be a boy, it rides on the slave’s shoulders.‡

Was the custom anciently the reverse of this? So it might be imagined from Isa. xlix. 22.: *They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders.* Nevertheless, I am persuaded this is not true; but if they anciently made a difference in the manner

* Gen. xii. 10. †P. 68.

‡ Sir John Chardin observes, in his MS. note on Gen. xxix. 24., that none but very poor people marry a daughter, in the East, without giving her a female slave for a chamber-maid; there being no hired servants there, as in Europe. He says much the same in another note on Tobit x. 10. Agreeably to this we find Laban, upon marrying his daughters, gave each of them a female slave. So Solomon supposes they were extremely poor that had not a servant, Prov. xii. 9. An attention to this circumstance is requisite to enter into the strength of that passage.

of carrying children, as the Algerines seem to do now, the same custom obtained also then. Nor do these words of Isaiah contradict this. The Algerine manner of carrying the boys may be well enough expressed by "they shall bring thy sons in their bosom," as the word is translated in the margin, their legs hanging down in their bosoms; and if the Prophet designed to represent their daughters as carried in the way children usually are with us, he might express himself in the manner he does, children so carried often looking over the shoulder, and leaning their arms upon it.

This observation of Pitts will enable us to form a judgment of Vitranga's comment on this passage, who in general is a very accurate writer. "Not," says he, "that they were carried properly on the shoulders, which would be very incommoding to the person carrying, and to those that were carried: but they are said to be carried on the shoulders, because they are supported by the arms which hang from the shoulders, in which also their strength lies." It is evident, from the practice at Algiers, that the posture in question is not so incommoding to a slave in the Levant, as this explanation would suppose it to be.*

* Dr. Russel asserts, (Vol. I. p. 441.) that the children who are able to support themselves, are usually carried astride on the shoulder; but in infancy they are carried in the arms, or awkwardly on one haunch.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION XLI.

The Office of Women and Children among the Algerines.

THESE slaves, according to Pitts,* do the work of maid-servants. The labour, enjoined the Gibeonites, was also what females were wont to perform, and do to this day.

Shaw mentions† the going out of the women in the evening to fetch water as still the custom of the Arabs of Barbary; and cites Gen. xxiv. 11., to prove it was the custom anciently; to which he might have added 1 Sam. ix. 11. John iv. 7. The author of the Piratical States of Barbary assures us also, that they cut the fuel. "The care of the cattle," speaking of the Arabs of the kingdom of Algiers, "belongs to the women and children; they also provide food for their family, cut fuel, fetch water, and, when their domestic affairs allow them, tend their silk-worms."‡ D'Arvieux, in like manner, represents the daughters of the Turcomans of Palestina, as fetching wood as well as water.§

As the women of these countries cut fuel now as well as fetch water, we may believe they

* P. 54.

† P. 241.

‡ P. 47.

§ Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 230.

did so formerly, and that they are both equally ancient customs. This supposition is confirmed very much by Jer. vii. 11., and Lam. v. 13., which speak of the children's fetching *wood*—The *young women*.

The bitterness then of the doom of the Gibeonites does not seem to have consisted in the laboriousness of the service enjoined them, which had been commonly understood to be the case; for it was usual for the women and children to perform what was required of the Gibeonites; but its degrading them from the characteristic employment of men, that of bearing arms, and condemning them, and their posterity for ever, to the employment of females. The not receiving them as allies was bitter; the disarming them who had been warriors, and condemning them to the employment of females, was worse; but the extending this degradation to their posterity, bitterest of all. It is no wonder, that in these circumstances they are said to have been cursed, Josh. ix. 23.

OBSERVATION XLII.

Slaves used with great Kindness in the East.

THE usages of the East differ very much from those of the West, with relation to the more than kind treatment of their servants; but they perfectly agree with those that are referred to in the Scriptures. How far these have been taken notice

of in explaining passages of Holy Writ I do not know ; but I believe the gathering up together, and presenting them in one view to my Reader, will be a sort of novelty.

They marry their slaves frequently to their daughters, and that when they have no male issue, and those daughters are what we call great fortunes. That Hassan, of whom Maillet gives a long account in his eleventh letter, and who was Kiaia of the Asaphs of Cairo, that is to say, the Colonel of four or five thousand men who go under that name, was the slave of a predecessor in that office, the famous Kamel, and married his daughter : “ for Kamel,” says he, “ according to the custom of the country, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and left him, at his death, one part of the great riches he had amassed together in the course of a long and prosperous life.”* What Sheshan then did was, perhaps, not so extraordinary as we may have imagined, but perfectly conformable to old Eastern customs, if not to the arrangements of Moses ;† at least it is, we see, just the same with what is now practised : *Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters : and Sheshan had a servant an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha, and Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife, and she bare him Attai.* 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.

If they have no children at all, the rich people of Barbary purchase young slaves, educate them

* Lett. xi. p. 118.

† Numb. xxxvi. seems not to favour this practice,

in their own faith, and sometimes adopt them for their own children, according to the author of the History of the Piratical States of that country.* Relations among us would think this a cruel hardship, would often pronounce it unjust; but the people of the East seem always to have had these ideas: *One born in mine house is mine heir*, said Abraham,† speaking of a slave that he had, born of some female slave, though he had brother's children and grand-children, if not a brother, in Mesopotamia, Gen. xxii. 20—24.

Young slaves, under twelve years of age, according to the author of the History of the Piratical States, are the only objects of their master's religious care; and he contradicts the stories of their compelling Christian slaves to turn Moham-medans; but as to these young slaves, he acknowledges that they value themselves highly on making such good Mussulmans, and consider it as a most meritorious act in the sight of God:‡ and every one that is conversant with the affairs of the Levant knows how successful these cares prove; scarce any but what by this means have been fixed in their faith. Even where a master's religion differs from that which is established in a country, this way of educating their slaves has a great effect upon them. Thus Maillet tells us, the Jews, as well as Christians, are permitted in Egypt to have black slaves, but not to carry them out of the country, lest they should oblige their slaves to change their religion. But, notwithstanding this

* P. 70, 71.

† Gen. xv. 3.

‡ P. 71.

precaution, he informs us, that the greatest part of these Blacks follow, though in secret, the religion of their masters.* On the same principle—the efficacy of education, Abraham, who professed a religion different from that of the people among whom he dwelt, was directed to circumcise his servants, as well as his children; and baptism was afterwards administered with the same latitude, and we have reason to think on the same principle.

In the same letter Maillet speaks of the rising of these slaves sometimes to the highest posts in the state; and that there was an eunuch at Cairo, when he resided there, who had made three Beys, three of the Princes of that country that is, from among his slaves; and he gives an account of another Bey, who had at one time five or six of his slaves Beys like himself. What is more, the greatest men of the Ottoman empire are well known to have been originally slaves, brought up in the seraglio.† This may appear very strange to us Europeans, and more so to our American settlers. Our governments there have sometimes received great services from their slaves; but they never thought of any thing more than giving them their freedom, and some little pecuniary gratifications, and believed them amply repaid. Nevertheless, these facts are incontestable; and the most incredible accounts of Scripture relating to this subject, such as the advancement of Joseph to be viceroy of Egypt, and Daniel, another Hebrew

* Lett. xii. p. 175.

† Thevenot, Part I. p. 25.

slave, to be a chief minister of State in Babylon, have nothing in them dissonant from the modern usages of the East. What is more than any thing mentioned in Holy Writ, the Mameluke kings of Egypt themselves are well known to have been originally slaves, as amply appears in the collection of Monsieur d'Herbelot.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

Slaves often sold at a cheap Rate.

MUCH respected as slaves are in the East, they are sometimes purchased at a very low price.

The prophet Joel complains of the contemptuous cheapness in which the Israelites were held by those that made them captives, ch. iii. 3. *They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.*

The illustration the MS. C. gives of this passage, has something painfully instructive in it; and my Readers will not, perhaps, be displeased with me for communicating it to them. “The Tartars, Turks, and Cosaques, sell the children sometimes as cheap which they take. Not only has this been done in Asia, where examples of it are frequent; our Europe has seen such desolations. When the Tartars came into Poland, they carried off all they were able; this was in opposition to the king of Sweden, Gustavus the Second. I went thither

some years after. Many persons of the court assured me that the Tartars, perceiving that they would no more redeem those that they had carried off, sold them for a crown, and that they had purchased them for that sum. In Mingrelia they sell them for provisions and for wine: this is most true." How terrible these ravages—the tearing children from their parents, and selling these dear objects of parental affection for a crown a-piece, for a little victuals, or a little wine, and separating them from their parents for ever! How just the expression of the Divine displeasure against such contemptuous treatment of a people sacred to JEHOVAH!

OBSERVATION XLIV.

Of the Shoes and Slippers worn in the East.

As there appear remains in the East of the most ancient way in which people were shod; so it seems the most magnificent modern coverings of the foot there are of great antiquity.

According to Rauwolff,* the Arabs of the Desert, when they "are not able to buy shoes, take instead of them necks of undressed skins, and put them about their feet with the hair outwards, and so tie or lace them up." People could not be shod, I think, in a more simple manner than this; and,

* P. 157.

consequently, we may believe it to be the most ancient way of all.

Not very remote from this, is Sir J. Chardin's account in his MS., who, after describing sandals in a note on Acts xii. †, adds, ' Poor people of the East go shod after this manner.' How different the treatment of St. Peter's feet from that of the toes of his imaginary successors !

Rich people in those countries wear socks and slippers of red or yellow Morocco. They are red, or yellow, according to their quality, if Thevenot's account be just.* And as yellow is the common colour, † the red must be their most magnificent covering for their feet. ‡ Agreeably to this, we find Bishop Pococke making a present of a pair of red shoes such as they wear, with some other things, to the great Sheikh of Cous ;§ and in another place mentions red shoes, as one species of goods he prepared for making presents, when he designed going into Upper Egypt.||

* Part I. p. 30.

† D'Arvieux mentions yellow leather only, in his account of the socks, slippers, and boots, of the Arabs. *Voy. dans la Pal. chap. xvi.*

‡ Unless we suppose Lady M. W. Montague's description of her dress forms an exception, who tells us her shoes were of white kid leather, embroidered with gold, *Lett. Vol. II. p. 28.* Whether this was a peculiarity, or used by other ladies in the East now, I am not able to say : all other accounts which I have seen, so far as I at present remember, speak of nothing used by the Eastern people more magnificent than red Morocco shoes.

§ Vol. I. p. 20.

|| P. 68.

Dyeing leather appears to have been in use in the time of Moses.* And since what we translate badger's skins are mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel, as a most magnificent covering for the feet, chap. xvi. 10., and red Morocco leather seems to be understood to be such now, I should suppose beautiful red leather was what Ezekiel meant there, whether made of the skin of a badger, or of some other quadruped.

I do not recollect the having read any account in modern travellers of badgers found in Egypt, or in the adjoining countries, from whence we might suppose their skins brought to Egypt. Dr. Shaw, I remember, expressly tells us he could not hear of any found in Barbary.† Their skins are, however, sometimes tanned in England; and a gentleman of considerable fortune in that way of business has informed me, "they use them for the upper and more pliable part of the shoes; and, so far as he knows, for no other purpose: that this leather is not so liable, when exposed to wet and dry, to harden and crack in the grain as some other kinds; and is more durable than any other leather of the same substance that we tan. To which he unexpectedly added, that the grain of the skin resembles the Turkey leather used about books."

It appears by an account of the process for preparing red and yellow Morocco skins, communicated by an Asiatic to the Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and published in the first volume of Dossie's Me-

* Exod. xxv. 5, &c.

† P. 174.

moirs, that the skins they make use of are grained on a board prepared for that purpose, which I suppose must have been at first done, to make these skins resemble the more uncommon skins which were highest in esteem, and which naturally appeared with such a kind of grain. I cannot otherwise account for the invention.

This substitution of more common skins, for the more valuable skins of this other animal, seems to have been very ancient, since Moses speaks* of ram-skins dyed red, as those which we translate badger-skins, I presume, also were; and these less valuable skins were ordered, as it was not to be expected that a sufficient number of the other, to make the whole covering for the tabernacle, was to be found in the camp of Israel.

Whether the skin of the *dubbah*, or hyæna, is naturally grained like Turkey leather, I am not able to say: but Dr. Shaw informs us that it is of the badger-kind, and that it inhabits those countries.† But whatever skin Moses refers to, it was a kind that was naturally grained, and of which the red Morocco leather is an imitation.

* Exod. xxv. 5, &c.

† P. 173, 174.

OBSERVATION XLV.

The Easterns frequently wash their Feet, and Reason of it.

THE necessity for washing the feet in the East has been attributed to their wearing sandals ; but it is very requisite, according to Sir John Charadin,* let the covering of the feet be of what kind it will.

‘ Those that travel in the hot countries of the East,’ he tells us, ‘ such as Arabia is, begin, at their arriving at the end of their journey, with pulling off the coverings of their feet. The sweat and the dust, which penetrate all sorts of coverings for the feet, produce a filth there, which excites a very troublesome itching. And though the Eastern people are extremely careful to preserve the body neat, it is more for refreshment than cleanliness, that they wash their feet at the close of their journey.’

According to d’Arvieux, the little yellow Morocco boots, worn by the Arabs, which are made very light, so as that they may walk in them afoot, and even run in them, are yet so tight as not to be penetrated by water.† But none of the Eastern coverings for the foot can guard against the dust ; consequently, this custom of washing the feet is not to be merely ascribed to their use of sandals: a

* MS. Vol. VI.

† Voy. dans la Pal. p. 209.

circumstance that has not, I think, been attended to, and which therefore claims a place in these papers.

OBSERVATION XLVI.

Great Costliness of the Females' Dress in the East.

DR. SHAW has given us an account, at considerable length, of the dress of the Moorish ladies : * there are some things, however, he has passed over in silence, which appear to me worth setting down ; and, as I have had no opportunity of introducing them before, I will give them a place here.

The first thing I would take notice of, relating to this matter, is the great costliness of the Eastern female dress of persons of distinction. Maillet tells us, that the dress of the Egyptian ladies is much more rich and magnificent than any thing of that kind among us. That it consists of a quantity of pearls, precious stones, costly furs, and other things of value. That their shifts alone come to six or seven pistoles. In one word, that three young ladies of France might be handsomely dressed for the same sum that a common habit comes to in Egypt.†

Few people look upon the costly array of the Levant mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 9., in so strong a light as this author has set it ; though the Apostle mentions pearls, as Maillet does.

* P. 228.

† Lett. xi. p. 112.

One would hardly have expected, that the vanity we generally ascribe to the French would have suffered one of that nation to allow this superiority of Eastern dress, in point of richness, to that of his own country-women ; but, what is more, he seems to allow it to be better fancied. ‘ Their apparel has always something grand and majestic, (he had been speaking of two kinds of it in use there, one the Egyptian properly speaking, the other the Turkish, the women making use of the one, or the other, as best suited their views, and making their choice with great judgment,) their head-dress is noble and enchanting. In a word there is nothing more free and engaging, than the slight dress in which they often appear.’*

This is not the only author of that country, I believe, that has discovered how deeply he has been struck with the habits of the Levant. If I remember right, Tournefort talks in something of the same strain, when he is describing the dress of the ladies in some of the islands of the Archipelago. If we cannot trust our own invention, and must servilely copy after other nations, would it not be right for the British ladies rather to fetch their models from the East than from Paris? It certainly would, if any deference is due in these matters to the judgment of the French themselves.

* P. 113.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

Of plaiting the Hair in the East.

THERE is one particular the Apostle mentions in this passage, which requires a distinct consideration—the *plaiting the hair*, which Dr. Shaw, from 1 Pet. iii. 3., roundly supposes, is disapproved of in the Scriptures ;* but which I cannot believe the Apostle designed absolutely to prohibit, though I am disposed to pay great deference to the opinion of the Doctor.

It is a way of adorning themselves that was practised in the East anciently, and still continues to be the common usage of those countries. Shaw speaks of it as used now in Barbary, and says, the Moorish ladies all affect this way of disposing of their hair. The editor of the Ruins of Palmyra found that it anciently obtained there, for they discovered, with great surprise, mummies in the Palmyrene sepulchres embalmed after the ancient Egyptian manner, by which means the bodies were in such a state of preservation, that, among other fragments they carried off with them, was the hair of a female, plaited exactly after the manner commonly used by the Arabian women at this time.† It is now universally used among the Moorish women ; it is the Arab way of adorning themselves ; and it seems to have been as common

* P. 228.

† P. 22, 23.

anciently, from what was found in the sepulchres of Palmyra, and from the way in which St. Peter and St. Paul* have mentioned this circumstance. It was a general way of ornamenting themselves, and at the same time, one would think, as little contradictory to the laws of decency and frugality, as any thing belonging to female adorning, and therefore as little liable to an apostolic prohibition. Would not the prohibition then, the absolute prohibition of a practice so general, and at the same time so innocent, savour more of the spirit of superstition than of an Apostle?

The passage in St. Peter, which the Doctor cites, will admit an easy interpretation—that the female disciples of CHRIST should make their adorning consist in a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of GOD of great value, rather than in plaiting the hair, wearing of gold, or putting on any of the ornaments of Eastern dress: for there is no absolute prohibition of these external ornaments. But the other passage, that of St. Paul, seems to be otherwise, though interpreters are willing to understand it in the same sense. *I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting. In like manner, that women adorn themselves..... not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.* The absurdity of supposing the Apostle absolutely forbid them the plaiting their hair, and wearing of gold, not only the Moorish beautiful Sarmah,† but the least particle of gold

* 1 Tim. ii. 9.

† See Shaw, p. 229.

in any form whatsoever,* has forced them into this ; but they have not shewn, so satisfactorily as could have been wished, how the wearing these things is inconsistent with the words of the Apostle.

The solution of the difficulty must arise, from the applying the words, “ In like manner also,” not to the “ I will,” of the Apostle—*In like manner I will that women adorn not themselves with broidered hair, &c.* ; but to the latter part of the verse, that is, to the men’s *praying without wrath and disputing*, as the word signifies, and as it is translated Phil. ii. 14. St. Paul charging them, not to have any anger or dispute, about the honour of being placed in the chief seats in their religious assemblies ;† in like manner he willed and enjoined, that the women should behave there so as not to occasion wrath and disputing, not adorning themselves, so as to vie with each other in dress, or distinguishing themselves by a pert asking of questions, but with great humility, learning in silence, and dressing themselves as the most moderate people of their rank were wont to do, making good works their glory.

* Consequences that Dr. Shaw certainly did not attend to, when he supposed the Scriptures disapproved this braiding the hair. Had he been the Apostle of the Palmyrenes, he would, without doubt, have thought more maturely about it.

† James ii. 1—4. Matt. xxiii. 6.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

*Of the Female Ornaments mentioned by
Isaiah, ch. iii.*

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a sure explanation of all the female ornaments mentioned in the third of Isaiah. The present dress of the Eastern ladies will not perfectly determine it: we cannot tell what changes have happened; and some of them are equivocal.

Rauwolff, in particular, tells us, that the Arab women, whom he saw in his going down the Euphrates, wore rings about their legs and hands, and sometimes a good many together, which in their stepping slipped up and down, and so made a great noise.* One might have imagined, these were the tinkling ornaments mentioned by the

* P. 157. Sir J. Chardin's account in one of his manuscripts differs a little: he supposes they have actually little bells fastened to those rings which they wear about their legs, and which make a tinkling sound. In Persia, he says, "and in Arabia, and in very hot countries where they go in common without stockings, (and they go so in the Indies,) and only in shoes, they wear rings about their ancles, which are full of little bells. Children and young girls take a particular pleasure in giving them motion: with this view they walk quick." The tinkling sound of little bells, could not be thought meanly of among the Israelitish women, whether they were in fact used by them, or not, since little bells were fastened to a part of the dress of the High-Priest of God himself.

Prophet; but Pitts, observing that the women of pleasure at Cairo wore their hair in tresses behind, reaching down to their very heels, with little bells, or some such things, at the end, which swung against their heels, and made a tinkling sound as they went, was naturally enough led to think of this passage, and to imagine that Isaiah might refer to them.* Some of them then are indeterminate, and their description equivocal.

Every part, however, of the 24th verse is not equally uncertain: and Maillet's observation, that "the Egyptian women carry their delicacy so far, that, to prevent sweat, and the contracting ill smells thereby, they wear nothing in their houses, and often in the streets, but their shifts and a pair of linen drawers; besides which care, none use baths, odoriferous waters, and perfumes, more frequently than they do, or time the application of things better,†" explains with the utmost clearness the first clause, "instead of sweet smell, there shall be stink." The fatigues they shall undergo shall produce copious sweats; and they shall have no means to remove their disagreeable effects: for though Maillet is speaking of Egyptian women, and the Prophet of Israelitish, the methods of preserving neatness, and rendering themselves agreeable, were, without doubt, in general much the same.

Vitringa‡ indeed explains this clause of a medicinal balsam, that was of a healing nature, instead of which he supposes the Prophet threatens

* P. 99, 100.

† Lett. xi. p. 112.

‡ In loc.

they should labour under a corruption of the flesh : but when my Reader considers that Isaiah is not speaking of the precious drugs they were able to command, in their prosperous state, to cure diseases, but of their arts of allurement, he will find no great difficulty in determining which is the most natural explanation.

Women, in the deep mourning of captivity, anciently shaved off their hair, Deut. xxi. 12, 13.* At least in distress it was dishevelled, in which manner the weeping penitent seems to have presented herself unto our LORD, Luke vii. 38, 44. Something like this still obtains among the Eastern women : in Egypt, in particular, Maillet tells us, that the women that attend a corpse to the grave generally have their hair hanging loose about their ears.† On the contrary, we find by Dr. Shaw, when they would adorn themselves, they collect their hair into one lock, binding and plaiting it with ribbands ; and if nature has been less liberal to them, they supply the defect by art, and interweave foreign hair.‡ As the first observation will account for the baldness Isaiah ascribes to the captived daughters of Zion ; so the last will explain their contrary appearance in the days of their prosperity, which our translator of this passage renders *well-set hair* ; but the original word§ signi-

* According to some interpreters. See Ainsworth's Commentary on the passage.

† Lett. x. p. 89.

‡ P. 228, 229.

§ The original words are קרחה מעשה מקשה *maaseh miksheh karechah*, which Montanus thus translates, *pro opere Calamistri calvitium* : “ baldness instead of the work of the curling-

fies something that is solid or heavy, and therefore must here signify hair made heavy or solid, which is now done by interweaving it with ribbands and foreign hair.

But whether this be allowed or not, the word, when applied to the Cherubs over the Mercy-seat, and to the Candlestick in the Tabernacle, apparently signifies, as Oleaster understands it,* *heavy*, or *solid*, not overlaid with gold that is, but of solid gold, and perhaps not hollowed in the least. And I am at a loss to account for it, I confess, how it should come to be translated *beaten gold*, as if they were to be formed by the hammer alone into

tongs." How the whole passage was understood by our ancestors, the reader will see in the following translation, which I have taken from an ancient MS. Bible, evidently prior to the time of *Wickliff*:

And the Lord God seide for that, that arerid ben the daughteris of Spon, and thei wenten with strigt out neck, and in herkis of eepen geeden, and flappeden with hondis for jope, and geeden: and with theire feet in curpous goyng geeden. The Lord schal fulli make ballid the tops of the Doughtris of Spon, and the Lord the her of hem schal naken, and for ournemente schal be schenschip: in that day the Lord schal don away the ournement of schoon, and boosis, and beegis, and brochis, and armcerclis, and mytris, and coombis, and rpbangs, and censis at the hemmys, and opnment boyis, and ereringis and ringis and jemmys in the frount hongynge, and chaunginge clothis, and litil pallis, and scheetis, and pyrnys, and scheweris, and necke kerchenys and fpletis and roketis: and ther schal be for swot smel, styneke; and for gyrdil a littil coord: and for crisp her, ballidness; and for the brest boond, an hepr. (cloth.) Isa. iii. 16—24. See also Russell's History of Aleppo, Vol. I. p. 107.—EDIT.

* Vide Poli. Syn. in Exod. xxv. 2, 8.

the prescribed shape, in an age that understood the art of making images of metal by moulds.

It may not be amiss to add, that it is another Hebrew word שַׁחַט *shachut*, that is translated *beaten*, 1 Kings x. 15., 2 Chron. ix. 16., where our version speaks of *targets and shields of beaten gold*.

As to the thought of Vitranga, who supposed it refers to the *powdering their hair with gold dust*, I cannot help looking upon it to be a little extravagant. The practice of some of the most expensive of the Roman Emperors, can hardly be admitted to be a proper illustration of Eastern finery ; and especially of the manner in which private persons, of a kingdom not very opulent, adorned themselves.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

Of the Nose-Jewels used by the Women in the East.

I BEGAN the last Observation with taking notice how difficult it must be, if not impossible, to determine the several particulars of the finery of old of the Eastern ladies : Sir J. Chardin, however, seems to have determined one point about which commentators have been very dubious, and that is, that *nose-jewels* are much more probably referred to in some of the Sacred Writings than *jewels for the forehead*.

The Cambridge Concordance marks out only one place in which *nose-jewels* are expressly mentioned, which is Isa. iii. 21.

How נִזְמֵי הָאָפֶה *nizmee haaph*, came to be trans-

lated *nose-jewels* there I do not know, since our translators seem carefully to have avoided, elsewhere, the exciting the idea of an ornament worn in the nose: thus they have rendered Ezek. xvi. 12., *And I put a jewel on thy forehead*, instead of *on thy nose*; and Gen. xxiv. 47., *I put the ear-ring upon her face*, instead of, *I put the ring on her nose*. In the twenty-second verse they had rendered it *ear-ring*; but, apprehensive that might be wrong, they translate it in the margin, *jewel for the forehead*.

Nezems were certainly worn in their ears, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 4., Exod. xxxii. 2, 3.; they were also worn upon the face, either the nose, or elsewhere. By being worn in the ears, one would imagine them to have been rings, or something of that kind; if they were, they do not seem naturally applicable to any part of the face, but the nostril: this however is so remote from the imagination of males as well as females in Europe, that the learned are disposed to imagine the *Nezem*, when not worn in the ear, was worn somehow on the forehead, and perhaps hung down over the nose. “*A golden ear-ring*, or rather, (as the margin has it,) *a jewel for the forehead*,” says Bishop Patrick on Gen. xxiv. 22.—“For such ornaments were used in those times and countries, hanging down between the eyebrows, over the nose.”

Let us now see what the notions of the East are, of which Sir J. Chardin has given a large account in Vol. VI. of his MSS. “The import of the Vulgar Latin translation (says this gentle-

man) is, I have put ear-rings upon her to adorn her face. The modern Bibles, such as that of Diodati and others, translate it, (conformably to the Arabic and Persian versions,*) I put the ring upon her nose. It is the custom, in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left† nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold,‡ and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring. I never saw a girl, or young woman in Arabia,§ or in all Persia who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril. It is without doubt of such a ring that we are to understand what is said in this verse,|| and not of those Diodorus speaks of, and which he says the women attached to their foreheads, and let them hang down upon their noses. I have never seen or heard speak of any such thing in all Asia. The women of condition there indeed wear jewels on their foreheads ; but it is a crotchet, like those worn in France in the beginning of the

* *Persian* version ! and of *Ezekiel* too ! Where is this to be found ? Neither in the *East*, nor in the *West*. The five books of Moses, and the four Evangelists, are all that are extant in the *Persian* language.—EDIT.

† Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain gives the same account, of its being the left nostril in which the nose-jewels are worn in the East Indies, p. 412.

‡ Made, he tells us, in the margin, of gold wire, a little thicker than that of the ear-rings worn in France.

§ It is to be observed this writer uses the name Arabia in a very large sense, comprehending in it, at least sometimes, Judea, besides other countries not usually included in that term.

|| Gen. xxiv. 47.

seventeenth century, to which they hung on three or five bobs; but these jewels do not descend lower than the forehead. I have many times seen at Babylon, and in the neighbouring countries, women with their ornaments, and have always seen these rings in their nostrils. I have seen some of them with pearls from . . . to twenty-four grains, among the jewels of the greatest princessess of Persia; but nothing like the rings mentioned by Diodorus. We ought also to understand Isa. iii. 21., and Ezek. xvi. 12., of these nose-jewels; and to look upon this custom of boring the nostrils of the women as one of the most ancient in the world."

The learned and ingenious Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary on Isaiah,* appears to be of a different opinion from Bishop Patrick. He supposes the word there rendered *nose-jewels* might be translated *jewels for the face or forehead*, but that the same phrase is used Prov. xi. 22., where it certainly signifies a *nose-jewel*; and then cites St. Austin, to prove that it was the custom of the women in Mauritania to hang jewels in the nose; and Harris's Collection of Travels, to assure us the same custom is still observed in Persia and Arabia, and other countries.

This is very sensible: the mind, notwithstanding, may have been held in suspense between these two sentiments; but the authority of Sir J. Chardin determines it at once, as far as such a thing can be determined: he every where saw nose-jewels, never rings for the forehead, nor any thing like them.

* Ch. iii. 21.

He has given us the satisfaction of knowing what they now commonly are—a ring of gold, with a ruby between two pearls. He has shewn us how it is worn upon the nose—it is done by piercing the nostril. And he has taught us why a single ornament of this kind is spoken of, when there are two nostrils, for he informs us they only wear it in one, and that is the left nostril.*

The authority of Sir. J. Chardin is the more decisive, as he had large concerns in the jewel way, and therefore was more led to observe matters of this kind than other travellers. There will remain, I imagine, after this, no doubt of the nature of the jewel of half a shekel given to Rebecca, or what we are to understand by those passages of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the Proverbs, which have been mentioned under this Observation. Other writers have mentioned this ornament, but none so determinately, or with such exact description, as Sir John.

* Dr. Russell describes the women of some of the villages about Aleppo, and all the Arabs and Chinganas, (a sort of gypsies,) as wearing a large ring of silver or gold, through the external cartilage of their right nostril, *Hist. of Aleppo*, Vol. I. chap. i. Only in one nostril then, though, according to him, the right. Egmont and Heyman, in like manner, describe this ring as worn by the Egyptian women in their right nostril : and say it is a small one, Vol. II. p. 85. Whether it is worn in the left nostril in some places of the East, and in the right, in others ; or whether there is some inaccuracy in the observers, I am not able to say ; happily it is of no importance. Instead of a ruby, it was a piece of coral, which these last mentioned travellers saw used in the nose-jewels of Egypt.

OBSERVATION I.

Of the Ear-Rings mentioned in Scripture.

THERE are two words used in the Scriptures which apparently signify ear-rings,* נֶזֶם *nezem* and אֶגֶל *ageel*: and Sir J. Chardin observed two sorts of ear-rings worn in his time in the East, whose account, therefore, may furnish us with some idea what these different words might mean, perhaps what they actually do mean.

Some of the Eastern ear-rings, he tells us,† are small, and go so close to the ear, as that there is no vacuity between them; others are so large that you may put the fore-finger between; and are adorned with a ruby and a pearl on each side of it, strung on the ring. The women wear ear-rings and pendants of divers sorts; and I have seen some, the diameter of whose round was four fingers, and almost two fingers thick, made of several kinds of metals, wood, and horn, according to the quality of people. There is nothing more disagreeable to the eyes of those that are unaccustomed to the sight; for those pendants, by their weight, widen so extremely the hole of the ear, that one might put in two fingers, and stretch it more than one that never saw it would imagine,

* Both are expressly described as ornaments belonging to the ear, the first in Exod. xxxii. 2, and the second, Ezek. xvi. 12.

† MS. Vol. VI., Gen. xxxv. 4.

I have seen some of these ear-rings with figures upon them, and strange characters, which, I believe, may be talismans, or charms, or perhaps nothing but the amusement of old women. The Indians say, they are preservatives against enchantments. Perhaps the ear-rings of Jacob's family were of this kind.

This paragraph not only gives us reason to think the *nezems* of antiquity were those small rings worn in the ear and the nostril, and the *âgeels* the larger and more shewy rings, with pendants, worn only in the ear; but it gives us a probable explanation, what kind of ear-rings they were that Jacob buried with the strange gods of his family, Gen. xxxv. 4.

It serves also to make the translation of a third word טבעת *tabâoth*, which is rendered ear-rings, Isaiah iii. 20, very probable: for though there is not any passage to be found, I believe, which describes them as put upon or into the ears, yet the word apparently signifies an ornament that was supposed to have some talismanic power; and some of the Indian ear-rings are now supposed to be endowed with a like virtue. And though Jacob seems to have buried such ear-rings as idolatrous, there is no reason to believe his female descendants, threatened by the Prophet Isaiah, were equally cautious.

OBSERVATION LI.

Of the Handkerchiefs used in the East.

SEVERAL writers take notice of the curious wrought handkerchiefs of the East, which are used by the men as well as women there: they might be in use too anciently among the Jews; but I am persuaded the *פֶּתֶל* *petheel* of Judah, mentioned Gen. xxxviii. 18, does not mean such a handkerchief.

Yet Sir J. Chardin supposes this in the sixth MS. volume; and as his account is curious, though improperly applied, as I apprehend, I shall here set down the substance of it. After having observed, that this is the custom of the East to wear their seals in rings on their fingers, which is sufficiently well known, he adds, “ It is also the custom almost every where to carry a staff in their hand; the fashion of wearing wrought handkerchiefs is also general in Arabia, in Syria, in Palestine, and generally in all the Turkish empire. They are wrought with a needle; and it is the amusement of the fair sex there, as among us, the making tapestry and lace. The young women make them for their fathers, their brothers; and, by way of preparation beforehand, for their spouses, bestowing them as favours on their lovers. They have them almost constantly in their hands in those warm countries, to wipe off sweat. I am persuaded that Judah also had his in his hand; and that Tamar,

seeing it to be singular as to its work, as well as the staff, demanded them of Judah for her hire, as well as the ring, as appears by ver. 25. One may understand then the words ‘in thine hand’ not only as relative to the staff, but also to the handkerchief and the ring, since it is evident Judah had them all in his hand.”*

Lady M. W. Montague speaks of her being presented with embroidered handkerchiefs, by great Turkish ladies : they were presented to men also, according to Sir J. Chardin, and used for wiping off sweat. Such handkerchiefs are not adorned with flowers of various colours, wrought with silk, and gold and silver thread, which, I think, is what is commonly meant by the term embroidered ; but wrought only with thread or cotton, as being much the most proper for being applied to the face, as well as for the imbibing sweat.

Sir John is not the only person that has supposed a handkerchief is meant here ; but I know not how to adopt the sentiment. Not to say that the word does not appear in that catalogue of female ornaments which is given us in the third of Isaiah, where, surely, the word signifying handkerchiefs must appear, if they were in half the request among the Israelitish ladies, that they are now in among the Eastern people ; I would say this gentleman’s own account is very unfavourable to such a supposition, since he supposes they are in con-

* There are few persons of any respectability in China, who do not always carry a beautiful handkerchief in their hands, or attached to their side by one of the corners, that it may be always in readiness.—EDIT.

tinual want of a handkerchief to wipe away the sweat, and have them almost perpetually in their hands for that purpose. Would Tamar have demanded a thing which was wanted almost every minute? The things she demanded were doubtless of some value, and such as would determine who the owner was; not such as he could not be well without till the kid was brought.

I cannot, however, think it was a bracelet, according to our version. The word never signifies any thing like that in other places, where it occurs; and other terms are used for the ornament worn on the arm and hand, and which signify what we call bracelets, or something like them. What just foundation can there be for such a translation then?

Setting myself upon this to think what could be well spared by Judah, and answer the general meaning of the word, which signifies a ribband, a lace, something twisted, &c.; and which might be sufficiently particular to prove him the father of the child; I could think of nothing more likely than the fillet or wreath worn about his head: which Dr. Shaw tells us is all that many of the Arabs wear at this day about their heads; while the Moors and Turks, and some of the principal Arabs, wear a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth, with a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, folded round the bottom of these caps.* Judah could very well spare such a trifling covering to his head as a very small wreath; and being the

* P. 226.

son of the head of a considerable clan of the people that lived in tents, it is to be supposed it was much more ornamented than what were commonly worn.

This occurred to my mind upon reading Dr. Shaw upon their dress, without finding this interpretation in any author : but it is no new thought as I perceived afterwards, for I had the pleasure to find Arias Montanus translated the word in like manner *tænia*, which signifies a wreath ; and some other authors also. But what I have been saying may be of some service to assist in forming a judgment what is most probably the meaning of the word.

OBSERVATION LII.

Eastern Women fond of long Hair—a curious Criticism on the Weight of Absalom's Hair.

THE Eastern ladies are remarkable for the length, and the great number of the tresses of their hair : the men there, on the contrary, wear very little hair on their heads now, but they do not seem always to have done so.

That the Eastern women now are remarkable for the quantity of the hair of their heads, and their pride in adorning it, appears from the quotation from Dr. Shaw under a preceding Observation. Lady Mary Wortley Montague abundantly confirms it : their “ hair hangs at full length behind,” she tells us, “ divided into tresses, braided with

pearl or ribband, which is also in great quantity. I never saw in my life so many fine heads of hair. In one lady's I have counted a hundred and ten of these tresses, all natural; but it must be owned that every kind of beauty is more common here than with us."*

The men there, on the contrary, shave all the hair off their heads, excepting one lock; and those that wear their hair are thought effeminate. I have met with both these particulars in Sir J. Chardin's MS. As to the last, he says in his note on 1 Cor. xi. 14, that what the Apostle mentions there is the custom of the East: the men are shaved, the women nourish their hair with great fondness,† which they lengthen by tresses and tufts of silk down to the heels. The young men who wear their hair in the East, are looked upon as effeminate and infamous.

It appears from this passage of the Corinthians, that in the days of St. Paul the women wore their hair long, the men short, and that the Apostle thought this a natural distinction. It does not, however, appear it was always thought so; or, at least, that the wearing long hair by the men was thought infamous, since it was esteemed a beauty in Absalom, 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

That passage is curious, and requires some consideration, as being attended with some difficulties; and, I am afraid, somewhat improperly explained.

* Vol. II. p. 31.

† Amoureuement is the word he makes use of.

The *weight* of the hair, which seems to be enormously great, is the first thing that occurs to the mind. Two hundred shekels, at two hundred and ninety grains each, make forty-three thousand and eight hundred grains. This is rather more than one hundred ounces avoirdupois, for four hundred and thirty-seven grains and a half are equal to such an ounce. It is a very good English head of hair, I am told, that weighs five ounces; if Absalom's then weighed one hundred ounces, it was very extraordinary. Some very learned men have believed a royal shekel was but half the weight of the sacred shekel: be it so; yet fifty ounces, ten times the weight of a good British head of hair, seems to be too great an allowance. To suppose, as some have done, that adventitious matters, united with the hair, are to be taken in to make up the weight, seems to me not a little idle. What proof would this have been of his possessing an extraordinary fine head of hair, since it would be possible to attach to the hair of a man half bald, substances that should weigh one hundred ounces? Commentators then should by no means talk of the oil, the fragrant substances, the gold dust, with which they suppose the hair might be powdered, as making up this weight; they might as well have added ornaments of gold, ribbands, (or what answered them) artificial tresses of hair, and all the matters that are now in different methods fastened to the hair. But would not this have been ridiculous? It is more reasonable to say, the present reading may be faulty, as in other cases there have frequently been mistakes in numbers; or that we

were not sure what number of grains two hundred shekels, after the king's weight, was equal to; than to attempt to remove the difficulty by such an incompetent method. It was an uncommonly fine head of hair, of very unusual weight; which is all that we know with certainty about it.*

The *shaving off all this hair*, (for so the original word signifies,) is a second thing that seems very strange. It was this thought, I should imagine, that led our translators to render the word by the English term *polled*, or cut short; for it seems very unaccountable, that a prince who prided himself so much in the quantity of his hair, should annually shave it off quite close; and for what pur-

* There may have been mistakes in the numbers, especially as in former times these were expressed by numeral *letters* only: in these ל *lamed* stands for 30, and ר *resh* for 200. Now from the similarity between those letters a mistake may easily be made; for if the upper stroke of the ל were but a little impaired as it frequently is, both in MSS. and printed books, it might readily pass for ר *resh*, and the remains of the upper part of the ל *lamed* might be mistaken for the stroke over the ר which makes it the character of 200. But how could מאתי *maythayim*, 200 in the text, be put in the place of שלשים *shelosheem* 30? Very easily, when the numbers became expressed by *words at length* instead of *letters*. This makes the hair of Absalom to amount only to 30 shekels in weight, which is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, a quantity amply sufficient to excite astonishment, and yet not beyond the compass of credibility, especially as we are not obliged to conclude that this weight was polled off every year: for ימים למים *mikkets yameem layameem*, from the end of days to days, does not necessarily imply *once a year*, but at *proper and convenient times*, as the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel has expressed it מומן ערן *misz'man iddan leiddan*, which may imply whenever it became *too weighty or inconvenient*.—EDIT.

pose? would not the shortening of it have relieved him from its excessive weight? not to say, that the hair of one year's growth can, in the common course of things, be of no great length, or weigh very much. The word elsewhere signifies to shave off all the hair; is opposed to polling, or trimming the hair a little by shortening it; and was necessary in order to gain the knowledge of the true weight of the hair.

Mourners shaved themselves, Job i. 20.; and those that had been in a state of bitterness when they presented themselves before kings, as appears from what is related of Joseph, Gen. xli. 14.: if then "from the end of days," which is the original expression, may be understood to mean at the end of the time of his returning to his own house, and not seeing the king's face, instead of at the end of the year, then the shaving himself may be thought to express one single action, and to describe, in part, the manner in which he presented himself before the king. This would make the prophetic account very natural.

But then the word כָּבֵד *kabed*, translated *heavy*, must be understood in another sense, a sense in which it is sometimes used, (if we have no regard to the Masoretic points,) namely, as signifying glory, or honour, or something of that sort.* And so the general meaning of the passage will be, "And when he shaved his head (and it was in the end of the days, of the days of his disgrace, that is, at the time in which he was to shave, because it

* See in particular Prov. xxvi. 1.

was a glory upon him,) and he shaved himself, and weighed the hair of his head, two hundred shekels after the king's weight."

But does not St. Paul suppose, that nature teaches us, that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him, 1 Cor. xi. 14.? He certainly does : Absalom's hair, however, is evidently spoken of in the Book of Samuel, as what was thought to be part of his beauty, 2 Sam. xiv. 25. : whether it was that they had different notions on this point in the age of David ; or that they thought it rather effeminate, but however a beauty.

OBSERVATION LIII.

Great Confinement of the Eastern Women.

THE Oriental Women are kept at home, much more than wives are with us; on the account of jealousy.

Dr. Russell informs us, that " the Turks of Aleppo, being very jealous, keep their women as much at home as they can ; so that it is but seldom they are allowed to visit each other. Necessity, however, obliges the husband to suffer them to go often to the bagnio, and Mondays and Tuesdays are a sort of licensed days for them to visit the tombs of their deceased relations ; which furnishing them with an opportunity of walking abroad in the gardens, or fields,* they have so contrived,

* Their cœmeteries and their gardens are out of their cities, at least in common.

that almost every Thursday in the spring bears the name of some particular Sheikh,* whose tomb they must visit on that day. By this means the greatest part of the Turkish women, of the city, get abroad to breathe the fresh air at such seasons, unless confined (as is not uncommon) to their houses by order of the Bashaw, and so deprived even of that little freedom which custom had procured them from their husbands.”† And in the next paragraph he tells us, that “though necessity obliges many of the inferior people to trust their wives out of doors, yet some are locked up till the husbands return.”

Here we see great confinement, and the most innocent amusements, such as walking to the gardens, frequently forbidden; and this when devotion itself is united, (with pleasure, professed to be united,) in these excursions.

The prohibitions of the Bashaws are designed, or pretended to be designed at least, without doubt, to prevent the bad effects, in respect to the chastity of the fair sex, which those liberties of going abroad might be supposed to draw after them. For the same reason we may believe, St. Paul joins the being chaste and keepers at home together, in his Epistle to Titus,‡ where he directs that Evangelist to engage the elder Christian women to teach the young women *to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, &c.* Titus seems to have been in Crete; and the Apostle, with something really of

* Or Saint, commonly expressed by the word *Sheikh*.

† P. 123.

‡ Titus ii. 5.

the solicitude a modern Bashaw affects, appears to have given this direction to Titus.

I do not suppose the words of St. Paul bind European ladies to that severe retirement and keeping at home, that prudence requires an Eastern female Christian to observe, and which St. Paul might intend with respect to those of Crete. But certainly the spirit of that injunction requires them to avoid every needless quitting their homes, that they may excite the jealousy of a husband, or the suspicions of the world : whether every British female, that calls herself a Christian, attends either to the letter or spirit of this order, is another point ; that they ought to consider themselves under an obligation to preserve its spirit and intention cannot be doubted.

OBSERVATION LIV.

Of tinging the Eyes in the East.

SEVERAL authors, and Lady M. W. Montague in particular,* have taken notice of the custom, that has obtained from time immemorial among the Eastern women, of tinging the eyes with a powder, which, at a distance, or by candlelight, adds very much to the blackness of them.

The ancients call the mineral substance with which this was done, stibium, that is, antimony ; but Dr. Shaw tells us,† it is a rich lead ore, which,

* Letters, Vol. II. p. 32.

† P. 229.

according to the description of naturalists, looks very much like antimony. Those that are acquainted with that substance may form a tolerable idea of it, by being told it is not very unlike the black-lead of which pencils are made, that are in every body's hands.

Many passages of Scripture are known to refer to this custom; but it has been unobserved I think, and for that reason makes an article in these papers, that it is most probable the redness of the eyes, according to our version, which the dying Patriarch mentions in blessing Judah, is to be explained by this usage.

The original word חכללת *chakeleloth*, or חכללי *chakeleelee*, occurs but twice in the Scriptures. In both places it evidently expresses a consequence of drinking wine; but in one it signifies an agreeable, and in the other a reproachful effect, of it. Gen. xlix. 12., and Prov. xxiii. 29., are the two places. I do not know that redness of the eyes, strictly speaking, is occasioned by drinking: that arises from other causes. If we change the expression a little, and, instead of *redness of the eyes*, read *redness of the countenance*, as some commentators are disposed to do, it is certain such an effect is produced by the drinking of wine. But it is, however, another word that expresses redness in general, that expresses ruddiness of complexion in particular;* nor did the Seventy understand the word to signify redness, but a kind of blackness, for so they translate Prov. xxiii. 29., whose eyes are

* See 1 Sam. xvi. 12. ch. xvii. 42, &c.

πελιδνοί ; a word which expresses the colour which arises from bruising the flesh, and which is marked out in English by two words joined together—*black and blue*. The Syriac and Arabic are said to translate in the same manner :* and is it not more natural to explain it in this passage, which speaks of woe, of sorrow, of wounds, after this manner, than of a red face ?

If the word is understood in this sense, in this passage of the Proverbs, it cannot be proper to give it, unnecessarily, another sense, when we read the predictions of Jacob ; and it is certain there is no difficulty in understanding it of blackness of the eyes there. The blackness that is communicated to the eyes by this lead ore, reduced to an impalpable powder, is expressly said, by Dr. Shaw, to be thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions : Lady Wortley Montague, in her lively way, says the same thing ; for she supposes our English ladies would be overjoyed to know the secret ; and what is it that is the great beauty of the eye, but sprightliness and life ? And certainly, as sorrow deadens the eye, or makes it dim, in the language of Job ; wine adds to its vivacity. As therefore it produces a similar effect with the Eastern powder, it is no wonder a term belonging to this drug is translated, in the language of prediction, which is known to be frequently a-kin to the language of poetry, to express what follows the drinking of wine : “ His eyes shall be blackened with wine ; ” enlivened, that is, by

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

wine, as if blackened by lead ore. Agreeably to this, though not with the same precision, the Seventy make use of a term in translating the word in this place, which signifies the joyousness of the eyes, as do also many of the Fathers.*

St. Austin, however, is sometimes an exception, translating the word in some places, indeed, glistening, (*fulgentes*,) but in others, yellow or tawny, (*fulvi*.) What the good Bishop of Hippo understood, by the eyes of the people of the tribe of Judah's being made yellow by wine; or, if you please to understand it rather of their countenances, what by their being made tawny by the juice of the grape, I leave to others to enquire. Some devout mystic sense may, doubtless, be put on such a translation: but great must be the absurdity of such a version, if understood literally. The English translation, "His eyes shall be red with wine," is as ill-founded I believe; but if understood of the countenance in general, by no means so absurd.

In truth, the colours which are mentioned in Scripture solicit the cares of the learned, as well as the vegetables and the animals, which have been more commonly thought of: what I have been saying proves it; as, I am afraid, a passage of the very curious Michaelis also does. That ingenious inquisitive author tells us, in a note on the twenty-eighth question proposed by him to the Danish Academicians, that he was ready to believe, that the word אַדָּמָדָם *adamdam*, which is

* Vide Scholia in Sac. Bib. Græc. ex vers. 70 Inter. Lond. 1653.

translated red, (in the account that is given by Moses of the leprosy, Lev. xiii. 42, 49,) comprehends in it the yellow, as it evidently does, he says, Gen. xxv. 33, as well as in the Arabic.* How evidently this appears, by that passage in Genesis, all will be sensible, that read that place of Dr. Shaw, in which he describes this pottage, which, according to him, still continues to be made in the East, of lentils, and is of a chocolate colour, p. 140. This Hebrew word in short, which expresses the colour of blood, as appears from 2 Kings iii. 22. ; and of red wine, Isa. lxiii. 2. ; is used for a dark brownish red ; and such a colour, as that of a lemon, too much differs, I should think, to be denoted by one word.

There are other *reds* much brighter than the colour of blood : with respect to which our translators jumble and confound things strangely, translating three different Hebrew words *crimson*, and rendering one of them sometimes *crimson*, and sometimes *scarlet*. Of these, שָׁנִי *shani*, I think, must undoubtedly mean a bright red, for it describes the colour of beautiful lips, Cant. iv. 3. That תּוֹלַעַ *tolaa* means *red*, in general, is evident from Isa. i. 18. ; and as it is used with שָׁנִי *shani*, to denote one colour, Exod. xxxix. 3., they should both mean the same colour, one of them express-

* Et je croirois presque que le mot אֶרְמֶרֶק que l' on traduit par *roussâtre*, comprend encore la couleur *jaune*, comme il le fait evidemment Genes. xxv. 30, aussi bien que dans la langue Arabe, p. 75. It may be right to add, the expression is softened, in a copy of these questions joined to Niebuhr's description of Arabia ; but the supposition is not retracted.

ing the colour itself, and the other the materials, or manner of dyeing it, somewhat answering our term engrained. As for כרמל *karmeel*, the other word translated *crimson*, 2 Chron. iii. 14., and in two or three other places, I am extremely dubious about its meaning, but am rather inclined to believe it does not signify any particular colour, but means flowery, or something of that kind.

Laban לבן certainly means *white*, for it describes the colour of milk, Gen. xlix. 12. : שחור *shachor*, on the contrary, *black*, for it is the colour of the raven, Cant. v. 11. ; חום *chum*, is the colour that sometimes, but not commonly, appears among sheep, and therefore signifies *brown*, Gen. xxx. 32. ; ירק *jerek* certainly means *green*, Exod. x. 15.

Other words are translated *blue* and *purple*. We may believe those bright and lively colours were in use in the days of Moses, in their painting and dyeing both; but the determining the words that signify each must depend on lexicographers, there being nothing in the texts in which they occur so circumstantial, I think, as to determine this matter. So Capt. Norden mentions *ultramarine*, as used with other lively colours, in painting those remains of very remote antiquity, the Egyptian hieroglyphics.*

* Part II. p. 75, 76.

OBSERVATION LV.

Of the Eastern Mirrors.

THE MS. C, in a note on Ecclesiasticus xii. 11., tells us the Eastern mirrors are of polished steel, and for the most part convex.

The world has been so often told that the mirrors of the Israelitish women were of metal, on occasion of what is said Exod. xxxviii. 8., that few people of reading are unapprised of it; but the two circumstances mentioned here are, I confess, new to me—the making them of *steel*, and the making them *convex*.*

If they were made of the same material, and in the same form, in the country of Elihu, the image made use of by him must be more lively than if we suppose them made of brass, and flat: *Hast thou with him spread out the sky, which is strong, and as a molten looking-glass*, Job xxxvii. 18. A serene sky is much more of the colour of steel than of brass; and a piece of this metal, formed into a concavo-convex shape, must much more strongly have affected the imagination of an Arab, thinking of the visible appearance of the atmosphere, than a plain piece of metal.

Whether this kind of mirror was in use in the days of Moses cannot be determined; but such a

* I have since observed, that Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain has mentioned both these circumstances in his description of the East Indies, 376.

curiosity, (to most, if not all, my readers, a novelty,) I thought ought not to be suppressed; and especially as it gives such life and energy to the image used by Elihu. Those mirrors that were brought out of Egypt by the Israelitish women were, it seems, of brass. Perhaps it may seem strange, that either steel or brass, which are so apt to rust or canker, should be employed in the construction of a sacred vessel for the holding of water, and which must be liable to be often besprinkled on the outside by those that washed. The apocryphal writer himself, that speaks of those speculums, supposes they were liable to rust: *Thou shalt be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a looking-glass, and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away.* And brass is liable to verdegriis, as iron to rust.

Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to observe, that, according to Dr. Perry, pipes of fountains, figures that spout out water, and basons designed for the reception of it, in some of the palaces of the Grand Signior, are in like manner of brass. They appear indeed to have been gilt, which must greatly preserve them from cankering; the laver of Moses might be gilt too. If the Turkish Sultan, who could so easily have commanded silver, or who might have confined himself to marble, for these works, has made use of brass, is it any wonder Moses made use of this metal for his laver?

“Each window,” says Dr. Perry,* “in the

* P. 26.

lower range, has a serpent's head (of) brass gilt, on each side of it, spouting water into a receiver of the same kind.—A small cascade rushes down a neat piece of gilded shell-work, cut in marble on each side of the walls; and discharges itself at the mouths of eight brazen serpents rising at the foot of it, into a square marble basin, which has a cluster of little pipes in the middle of it, and a double-headed serpent at each corner spouting the water into a cup of the same metal.—All those things are richly adorned and embellished with fine gilding, and the whole structure exhibits an air truly majestic.”

OBSERVATION LVI.

Of the Peacocks imported by Solomon.

THE last word תַּכִּיִּיעַם *tukkiyeem* of those paragraphs, which describe the imports of Solomon's navy from Tarshish, is dubious: some of the learned have thought it means *parrots*, the greatest number *peacocks*.*

What led some of the curious to imagine parrots were meant, I do not well know; but there is a passage in Hasselquist,† which strongly inclines me to adopt their sentiment: describing the commerce of the people of Æthiopia, he says, The Abyssi-

* *Pavones*, vel juxta quosdam, *Psittaci*, says Buxtorff, in his *Epit. Rad. Heb.* 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21.

† P. 298.

nians make a journey every year to Cairo, to sell the products of their country, slaves, gold, elephants, drugs, monkeys, parrots, &c. As Solomon's navy is said to have brought gold and silver, elephants' teeth, and apes, and peacocks, and this by the way of the Red Sea, 1 Kings ix. 26., which washes the East of Abyssinia, one would imagine, as many of the other particulars tally with each other, that, instead of *peacocks*, the true translation of the last word is *parrots*.

Religion, indeed, is not at all concerned in this uncertainty ; but it is a matter of curiosity ; and as such may, with great propriety, be taken notice of in these papers.

OBSERVATION LVII.

In ancient Times, the Egyptian Women were much engaged in Commerce.

HERODOTUS, it seems, thought the Egyptian women's carrying on commerce was a curiosity that deserved to be inserted in his history ; it can hardly then be thought an impropriety, to take notice of this circumstance in a collection of papers tending to illustrate the Scriptures, and especially in a country where the women indeed spin, but the men not only buy and sell, but weave, and do almost every thing else relating to manufactures.

The commerce mentioned by Herodotus is lost, according to Maillet, from among the women of

Egypt in general, being only retained by the Arabs of that country who live in the mountains. The Arabian historians say,* that the women used to deal in buying and selling of things woven of silk, gold, and silver, of pure silk, of cotton, of cotton and thread, or simple linen-cloth, whether made in the country or imported; the men in wheat, barley, rice, and other productions of the earth. Maillet, in giving an account of the alteration in this respect in Egypt, affirms that this usage still continues among the Arabs to this day, who live in the mountains; and, consequently, he must be understood to affirm, that the things that are woven among the Arabs, and sold, are sold by the women, who are indeed the persons that weave the men's hykes in Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw,† and doubtless weave in Egypt.

Now this is precisely what the book of Proverbs supposes the Israelitish women, that were industrious, anciently did: *She maketh fine linen, and selleth it, and delivereth girdles unto the merchants.*‡ However dissonant this may be to our manners, it is what perfectly agreed with the simplicity of the most ancient times; and is, accordingly, retained by the Arabs, who are noted for the preservation of their ancient usages.

* Maillet, xi. p. 134. † P. 224, 240. ‡ Prov. xxxi. 24.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

Of the Shirts worn by the Turks and Moors.

It is customary for the Turks and Moors, according to Dr. Shaw, to wear shirts of linen or cotton, or gauze, under their tunics; but the Arabs wear nothing but woollen.* This is frequently the case also with the Arabs of Palestine, it seems, though d'Arvieux gives a contrary account of the Arabs of the camp of the Grand Emir whom he visited;† for Egmont and Heyman assure us,‡ that they saw several Arabian inhabitants of Jaffa§ going along almost naked, the greatest part of them without so much as a shirt or a pair of breeches, though some wore a kind of a mantle; as for the children there, they ran about almost as naked as they were born, though they had all little chains about their legs as an ornament, and some of silver.

The reason of the difference between these authors is, without doubt, d'Arvieux's describing those of the camp of the grand Emir, who were many of them persons of consequence; and Egmont and Heyman's giving an account of the poorer sort of Arabs. However it is visible from the last book, that many of the poorer people of Palestine, as well as in Barbary, wear no shirts, while those in easier circumstances do; which

* P. 228. † Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, ch. xvi.

‡ Vol. I. p. 298. § Called Joppa in the New Testament.

wearing of linen next them cannot but be a peculiar comfort in those hot climates.

May we not suppose that many of the poorer inhabitants of Judea, in ancient times, shifted as the Arabs of this country do now? And may not this explain the proposal made by Samson, (Judg. xiv. 12.,) to give not only thirty changes of garments, but thirty other things, confirming the supposition of the margin of our Bibles, which reads thirty *shirts*, if they could decypher the difficulty he proposed to them; and they to give him the same, if they could not? It cannot easily be imagined that they were what we mean by *sheets*, for Samson might have slain thirty Philistines near Askelon, and not have met with one sheet; or if he slew such as were carrying their bedding with them in their travels, as they often do now, the destroying fifteen would have been sufficient, the people of the East using an upper and an under sheet as we do;* but he slew just thirty, in order to acquire thirty סדינים *Sedinim*, thirty *shirts* that is, or at least not thirty-sheets in the common sense of the word.

The supposing them to be thirty *shirts* is not pretended to be a new thought: I have expressly observed that our marginal reading translates the Hebrew word thus; but I do not know that it has been remarked by any body that this circumstance, if it be allowed to be fact, points out the bitterness of this slaughter to the Philistines, since it shews that they were not thirty common people of

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177.

that nation that he slew, but thirty persons of figure and consequence.

This observation may equally take place, if we should suppose it signifies some other sort of vestment, not so near the skin; for, in this case, those he slew had two different things upon them, whereas the poorer sort of the people of Palestine have only a kind of mantle on them; not to say that it appears, from Isa. iii. 23., that whatever it was, it signifies a high part of dress, a consideration which seems to put the matter quite out of all doubt, as to their being persons of rank that he destroyed.*

OBSERVATION LIX.

A Blanket or Sheet frequently used as a Wrapper for the Body among the Egyptians.

BISHOP POCOCKE observes, in describing the dresses of the people of Egypt, that “ it is almost a general custom among the Arabs and Mohammedan natives of the country, to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in summer a blue and white cotton sheet, which the Christians constantly use in the country: putting one corner before over the left shoulder, they bring it behind,

* Sir John Chardin in his MS. supposes the word signifies drawers. If understood after this manner, it may point out their being persons of some distinction, many of the poorer Arabs wearing none.

and under the right arm, and so over their bodies, throwing it behind over the left shoulder, and so the right arm is left bare for action. When it is hot, and they are on horseback, they let it fall down on the saddle round them; and about Faiume I particularly observed that young people especially, and the poorer sort, had nothing on whatever but this blanket; and it is probable the young man was clothed in this manner, who followed our Saviour when he was taken, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and when the young men laid hold of him, he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.”*

I am very much disposed to think as the Bishop does upon this point; and as he has made this observation, I should not have thought of introducing it into these papers, had I not apprehended some additional remarks might not be altogether useless.

This account relates to Egypt; but it appears from that passage of Egmont and Heyman, which I cited under the last Observation, that many of the inhabitants of Palestine are as slightly clothed now as the Egyptians, and we may believe were so anciently.

The ancients, or at least many of them, supposed that the young man in question, who is mentioned Mark xiv. 21, 22., was one of the Apostles. Grotius† wonders how they could think of such a thing; and supposes it was some youth, who lodged in a country-house near to the gar-

* Descript. of the East, Vol. I. p. 190.

† In loc.

dén of Gethsemané, who ran out in a hurry to see what was the matter, in his night-vestment, or in his shirt, as we should express it. But the word that is used to express what he had upon him, expresses also such a cloth as they wrapped up the dead in, and occurs in no other sense in the New Testament; but the Eastern people do not lie like corpses wrapped up in a winding sheet; but in drawers and one or two waistcoats at Aleppo;* and those that go without drawers, (as the Arabs of Barbary do, according to Dr. Shaw,† and many of those of the Holy Land, if we may believe Egmont and Heyman,) sleep in their raiment; and their hyke, which they wear by day, serves them for a bed and covering by night.‡ It might as well then be an Apostle in his day-dress, as an ordinary youth wrapped up in that dress in which he lay; and it is rather to be understood of an Apostle in his common clothing, than a person of figure in his drawers and waistcoat, in which such persons now lie, and which we may believe Dionysius Alexandrinus meant, by the *εν λινω εσθηματι* of his Epistle, which Grotius quotes.

A later commentator takes notice, that though this youth is said to fly naked away, upon his leaving the linen cloth in the hands of those that seized him, yet it is by no means necessary to suppose he was absolutely naked: which is indeed

* See Russell, Vol. I. p. 145.

† P. 224.

‡ See Shaw in the last cited place. Voyez aussi le Voy, dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 176.

very true. But is not this precisely the thing, however, that the Evangelist designs to intimate, in order to mark out the extreme fear of this young man, who rather chose to quit his hyke, than run the risque of being made a prisoner? though, by doing this, he became entirely exposed, which, in those countries, is looked on in a much more disagreeable light than among us; insomuch, that the very children have been observed to have had drawers on when they swim:* and, probably, the modesty of the Jews of those times was equal to that of the modern Arabs.†

Dr. Lightfoot supposes, as I do, that he had no-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177, 178.

† This account of d'Arvieux has been thought not to agree very well with Egmont and Heyman's, cited under the preceding Observation. I do not reckon myself obliged to reconcile all the contrarieties that may occur, in the authors I have occasion to cite; but as to this seeming contradiction, I would observe, that persons may be extremely well covered without wearing drawers, as in the case of the Arabs of Barbary; and that as to children, those that are very young may, in the apprehensions of the Eastern people, be left absolutely naked, without breaking the rules of modesty, while those that approach nearer a state of maturity may put on drawers when they swim, a care that is seldom taken, by any in our own country. It is certain that Norden represents the young children of the generous Barbarin, whose cottage he visited in Egypt, as running about there quite naked, Vol. II. p. 119.; whereas Egmont and Heyman only describe them as almost naked: on the other hand, d'Arvieux, without doubt, saw some youths swimming with drawers on, which he happened to mention in particular, as, in general, he found them observing the rules of decency with great exactness. Very young children are, in most nations, treated with much less scrupulous care than those farther advanced.

thing on under this linen cloth ; but he is ready to attribute this to mortification, and a superstitious austerity : but if he was not an Apostle, as the Doctor does not suppose he was, yet he must be understood to have been a disciple of JESUS, or he needed not to have been afraid ; and we know, that though the disciples of John followed a rigorous institute, those of CHRIST did not. *Why do the disciples of John, and of the Pharisees, fast ; but thy disciples fast not ?* Mark ii. 18.

OBSERVATION LX.

Shade of the Juniper Tree said to be unhealthy.

WHEN Elijah fled for his life from Jezebel, we are told that he went a day's journey into the wilderness of Beersheba ; and that sitting down under a juniper-tree, tired with his journey, and oppressed with grief, he fell asleep, after having requested of God that he might die.

A writer, who is with great propriety extremely celebrated,* supposes that this resting under a juniper-tree expressed great carelessness about his health ; and cites a passage from Virgil,† as a proof that the shadow of this tree was noxious. One can hardly read this without thinking of that wantonness, in applying their learning, which we see

* Grotius, Valetudinis incuriosus.

† ——— Solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra :

Juniperi gravis umbra : nocent & frugibus umbræ.

Ecl. x. 75, 76.

oftentimes in the works of eminent men, but of which we are unwilling to suppose a person of such distinction as Grotius would be guilty, and especially in a commentary on Scripture.

The passage in Virgil does not prove what it is cited for : take the whole two lines, they signify that the shade in general, to those that sung, was, at that time of the year, supposed to be noxious if long continued in ; that it was then injurious to the fruits themselves. The shade of the juniper-tree is distinctly mentioned, apparently for no other reason but because being an ever-green, and its leaves growing very close, its shade must be more chilly, and damp, than that of several other trees. That its shade is *not noxious*, at least not thought to be so by the people of the East, is sufficiently plain from a passage in Dr. Shaw, who tells us, that a city of Barbary, famous for remains of ancient magnificence, “ is pleasantly situated upon a rising ground, shaded all over with juniper-trees.”* Would they have raised such noble edifices anciently, or would they have dwelt under the shade of such a grove, if its effluvia were deadly, or if trees of that species were thought to be injurious to health ?

Another commentator† of considerable name, though not of equal celebrity with Grotius, supposes, on the contrary, that he reposed himself under a juniper-tree, for the more effectual preservation of his health, its shade being a protection from serpents ; and that it was the custom of the people

* P. 119.

† Pet. Martyr. Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

of that country to guard themselves by such precautions. This is, I doubt, equally visionary. Travellers have sometimes mentioned their sitting under trees in that hot country: some of them,* their enjoying that pleasure in that very desert of which this wilderness of Beersheba is a part; but not one word of their guides choosing out juniper-trees as defensive against venomous animals; and indeed, according to Dioscorides, they were the *embers* of the juniper-wood, not the *shade* of the living tree, that possessed the power of driving away serpents.†

The truth seems to be, that Elijah flying into a wilderness in the south of Judea, to escape the rage of Jezebel, found himself extremely oppressed with heat, and was glad to find a tree to shade him. Trees do not grow very commonly there; but there are some. He found, it seems, a juniper-tree in particular, which was extremely welcome to him on account of its thick shade, without any apprehension of its possessing any deleterious, or, on the contrary, any alexipharmic quality: he repaired to it merely for its shade, and there he fell asleep, and was awakened by a merciful angelic vision, after some time, which must greatly have comforted him. Can any thing now be more impertinent than an imagination, that the Prophet repaired thither with an intention verging towards self-destruction?

Dioscorides was a native of Cilicia: if we may suppose that the Eastern notion of the age of

* Egmont and Heyman, Vol. II. p. 151.

† Lib. I. p. 103.

Dioscorides, who was contemporary with the Apostles, was some hundred years older than his time ; if it was in particular as old as the time of David ; it is not impossible that the Psalmist might refer to this supposed quality of the embers of the juniper-tree, in those words of the one hundred and twentieth Psalm, *What shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue ? sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.*

It is difficult to say, with precision, why the coals of juniper are particularly mentioned. Some interpreters have ascribed to them the power of long preserving fire ; some have mentioned the fragrance of the wood : but these explanations are not very satisfactory ; and as to the first property, St. Jerom's account of those embers keeping fire, when covered up with ashes, a whole twelvemonth, will hardly obtain credit, notwithstanding his canonization.

But if coals of juniper were thought, in the days of the Psalmist, to have possessed the power of driving away venomous animals, the thought might, possibly, be this : Oh ! what shall be done to thee that possessest a tongue of falsehood ? thou shalt be given up to the arrows of the mighty, which shall pierce through thee with deadly force, after thou shalt be made to appear in thy true light, as poisonous animals are forced out of their lurking-holes, and brought into view by the energy of coals of juniper, and then destroyed.

It is certain malignant spirits are in Scripture compared to venomous animals, *Psa. cxl. 3.* ; and that Bishop Pococke mentions a species of the ju-

niper-tree, in his catalogue of the plants of Palestine ; but he does not tell us whether he found it growing in the deserts, or elsewhere.

After all, it is very uncertain whether the juniper is meant by the original word רֶתָם *retham*. *Broom* grows in those wildernesses, according to travellers :* and some very learned men have supposed that was the plant that was meant. Our broom indeed is so low a plant, that it would hardly have been sufficient to cover Elijah from the heat ; but there is a species of broom which it is said grows to a height sufficient to have shaded him ; and its Spanish name, supposed to have been brought thither from the East, agrees very well with the Hebrew word.

Nor is it very difficult to assign a reason why the Psalmist should mention the coals of *broom*, in the passage we have been referring to. He was then in the tents of Kedar,† or among the Arabs. In those deserts they frequently are obliged to use dried‡ dung of camels by way of fuel. This fuel must be extremely faint in comparison of wood. And broom being the wood the Arabs, among whom he dwelt, chiefly used, nothing was more natural for him, than to tell the lying tongue it should feel anguish like that of fire,§ the most vigorous fire that he saw employed in those deserts.

* Thevenot, Part 1. p. 163. † Ver. 5.

‡ Shaw, Pref. p. 12.

§ Hairri describes the heart as having fierce burning coals deposited upon it, when he would signify the great anxiety under which it laboured, which the note tells us is a proverbial form of speech. See Six Assemblies, &c. by Chappelow, p. 106.

Indeed neither the root of the juniper, nor of the broom, seems to be eatable; and, consequently, it may be thought that Job xxx. 4. proves that the word רתם *rathem*, the original word which some suppose signifies juniper, and others broom, means neither of them. But it is possible the same word, or nearly the same word, may signify very different vegetables. The word plantain signifies a herb, and grows very commonly in grass-plats; and it signifies also a large American tree, which our voyagers frequently mention. So the word aloes denotes certain foreign herbs, remarkably succulent; and it means a tree also, whose wood is extremely fragrant and precious. A kindred Arabian word to that which occurs in these texts, and which is rendered juniper in our version, means, it seems, a sort of broom: and, the same, or a similar word, appears to signify a sort of herb, which grows in the Arabian deserts. "We reached," say Egmont and Heyman,* speaking of their journey to Mount Sinai, "the valley of Rethame: this valley, called in the Hebrew *Rethame*, and commonly *Ritma*, derives its name from a yellow flower, called *Rettem*, with which the valley is enamelled." This plant was evidently a very different thing from a tree sufficient to shade Elijah, while he took some repose: whether its root is ever used for food by any poor starving Arabians, we are not told by them, nor any other traveller, so far as I can remember. How useful would a more perfect knowledge of the natural history of the East be!

* Vol. II. p. 154.

OBSERVATION LXI.

Of the Lamps and Lanterns used in Egypt.

CAPTAIN NORDEN, among other particulars he thought worthy of notice, has given some account* of the lamps and lanterns that they make use of commonly at Cairo. "The lamp," he tells us, "is of the palm-tree wood, of the height of twenty three inches, and made in a very gross manner. The glass, that hangs in the middle, is half filled with water, and has oil on the top, about three fingers in depth. The wick is preserved dry at the bottom of the glass, where they have contrived a place for it, and ascends through a pipe. These lamps do not give much light; yet they are very commodious, because they are transported easily from one place to another.

"With regard to the lanterns, they have pretty nearly the figure of a cage, and are made of reeds. It is a collection of five or six glasses, like to that of a lamp, which has been just described. They suspend them by cords in the middle of the streets, when there is any great festival at Cairo, and they put painted paper in the place of the reeds."

Were these the lanterns that those who came to take JESUS made use of? or were they such lamps as these that CHRIST referred to in the parable of the virgins? or are we rather to suppose that these

* Part I. p. 83.

lanterns are appropriated to the Egyptian illuminations, and that Dr. Pococke's account of the lanterns of this country will give us a better idea of the lanterns that were anciently made use of at Jerusalem ?

“ By night,” says that author,* speaking of the travelling of the people of Egypt, “ they rarely make use of tents, but lie in the open air, having large lanterns, made like a pocket paper lantern, the bottom and top being of copper, tinned over: and, instead of paper, they are made with linen, which is extended by hoops of wire, so that when it is put together it serves as a candlestick, &c. and they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three staves.”

It appears from travellers, that lamps, wax-candles, torches, lanterns, and cresset-lights,† are all made use of among the Eastern people.‡ I think also, that there are only three words in the New Testament to express these things by, of which *λυχνος* seems to signify the common lamps that are used in ordinary life, (see Luke xv. 8,) which, according to Norden, affords but little light: *λαμπας*, which is one of the words which is made use of, John xviii. 3., seems to mean any sort of light that shines brighter than common, whether torches, blazing resinous pieces of wood, or lamps that are supplied with more than ordinary quantities of oil, or other unctuous substances; such as that men-

* Vol. I. Descript. of the East.

† A kind of moveable beacons.

‡ Thevenot, Part II. p. 35 and 37. Norden, Part I. p. 124, Hanway.

tioned by Hanway in his Travels,* which stood in the court-yard of a person of some distinction in Persia, was supplied with tallow, and was sufficient to enlighten the whole place, as a single wax-candle served for the illumination of the room where he was entertained: and such I presume were the lamps our LORD speaks of in the parable of the virgins, which were something of the nature of common lamps, for they were supplied with oil, but then were supposed sufficient for enlightening the company they went to meet, on a very joyful occasion, which required the most vigorous lights.†

The other word, *φανος*, which occurs in John xviii. 3., is no where else to be found in the New Testament; and whether it precisely means *lanterns*, as our translators render the word, I do not certainly know. If it does, I conclude, without much hesitation, that it signifies such linen lanterns as Dr. Pococke gives an account of, rather than those mentioned by Norden, which seem rather to be machines proper for illuminations than for common use; and if so, the Evangelist perhaps means, that they came with such lanterns as

* Vol. I. p. 223.

† Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on Matt. xxv. 4., informs us that in many parts of the East, and in particular in the Indies, instead of torches and flambeaux, they carry a pot of oil in one hand, and a lamp full of oily rags in the other. This seems to be a very happy illustration of this part of the parable. He observes, in another of the MSS. that they seldom make use of candles in the East, especially among the great; candles casting but little light, and they sitting at a considerable distance from them. Ezek. i. 18., represents the light of lamps accordingly as very lively.

people were wont to make use of when abroad in the night: but lest the weakness of the light should give an opportunity to JESUS to escape, many of them had torches, or such large and bright burning lamps as were made use of on nuptial solemnities, the more effectually to secure him. Such was the treachery of Judas, and the zeal of his attendants!

OBSERVATION LXII.

Spades seldom used in the Holy Land, the Vineyards being cultivated by the Plough.

DANDINI tells us, that “ in Mount Libanus they never use spades to their vineyards, but they cultivate them with their oxen; for they are planted with straight rows of trees, far enough one from another.”*

As the usages of the East so seldom change, it is very probable a spade was not commonly used in the time of our LORD in their vineyards. We find the Prophet Isaiah using a term,† עָרַר *yeáder*, which our translators indeed render by the English word *digged*, but which differs from that which expresses the digging of wells, of graves, &c. in other places; and is the same with that used to signify *keeping in rank*, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38. When then JESUS represents the vine-dresser as saying to his Lord, Luke xiii. 8., *Let it*

* Chap. x. p. 43.

† Isa. v. 6, &c. chap. vii. 25.

alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it, it seems we are not to understand the digging it with a spade about the fig-tree, planted in a vineyard according to their customs ; but the turning up the ground, between the rows of trees, with an instrument proper for the purpose drawn by oxen—ploughing about it, in other words.*

OBSERVATION LXIII.

Necessity of Water in the Eastern Gardens.

WHETHER the garden of Gethsemané had any water in it does not appear by the Evangelic history ; but water is not only a great addition to a garden in those hot climates, (it is so in ours,) it is even necessary : without it in the summer every thing would be parched up. All the gardens of Aleppo, according to Dr. Russell, are on the banks of the river that runs by that city, or on the sides of the rill that supplies their aqueduct ; and all the rest of the country he represents as perfectly burnt up in the summer-months, the gardens only retaining their verdure, on account of the moistness of the situation.

I do not know that the necessity of water to

* “ The rising grounds above the gardens, to which water cannot be conveyed, are in some places laid out in vineyards, interspersed with olive, fig, and pistachio-trees, as are also many spots to the Eastward.” Russell’s Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, Vol. I. p. 51.

their gardens has been remarked ; but it is requisite to attend to this circumstance, if we would enter into the energy of Isa. i. 30., *Ye shall be as an oak, whose leaf fadeth : and as a garden that hath no water.*

It is not, however, to be imagined, that every garden in the East is by the side of a river or perennial brook. Gethsemané is not so situated ; nor is this an argument, that is valid, to prove that the place now shewn for it was not a garden in the time of our LORD : since it is by Kedron, which, though dry in summer, ran in winter ; and might fill a reservoir of water, sufficient for all the summer-months. Receptacles of this kind might be, and doubtless often were, filled by the rains too ; but water, in one way or other, is, and was, absolutely necessary to an Eastern garden.

OBSERVATION LXIV.

Some curious Remarks on Cant. vii. 11—13.

DR. RUSSELL tells us, that the English at Aleppo generally live at the gardens near Baballah, during the month of April, and part of May.* This I have had occasion to mention elsewhere, on another account ; but I would here observe, that if the sacred writer refers to such a sort of retirement, in the close of the seventh chapter of Canticles, the word *fruits* should not, I think, have been intro-

* Hist. of Aleppo, Vol. I. c. 2.

duced there : Come, my beloved, let us get forth into the field : let us lodge in the villages. Let us go up early to the vineyards : let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth : there will I give thee my loves. The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits new and old, which I have laid up for thee, O my beloved.

The budding of the pomegranates, &c. seems to determine their going into the field to this time of the year : but though there might be old fruits indeed, at that time, in plenty, such as currants, raisins, dried apricots, pistaches, which Russell mentions, Vol. I. p. 74., to which I might add figs and almonds, of which things several, though probably not all,* were known before the age of Solomon ; yet hardly any new fruits could then be found, none being mentioned by Russell, as produced at Aleppo by that time.

Migdanoth, מגנת, a word very nearly related to the word מגדים *Megadim* used here, apparently signifies *precious things* of a very different kind from the fruits of the garden, in Gen xxiv. 53. 2 Chron. xxi. 3., ch. xxxii. 23. Ezra i. 6.;† but they cannot be things of the nature of those re-

* See Shaw, p. 145 and 341.

† How strange then is the explanation of this word, Migdanoth, by Buxtorff, in his *Epitome Rad. Heb. Res pretiosæ, sed de fructibus terræ tantum dicitur* :—who, immediately after this interpretation, cites Gen. xxiv. 53. Ezra i. 6. 2 Chron. xxxii. 23., in proof of the justness of it ; passages that rather prove the contrary of what he had said !

ferred to there, that are here meant, as appears from the invitation to go into the field, the villages, to enjoy them.

If then they are neither fruits, nor jewels of gold, that are here meant, why may we not understand the word as signifying precious plants in general, *herbs* and *flowers*, *shrubs* and *trees*? So the *new and old megadim* that were treasured up will signify a delightful mixture of *new* plants, with those desirable ones that had been *wont* to grow in the gardens of Judea.

Great additions of precious flowers, shrubs, and trees, have been made to the gardens of Europe. Exotic plants have been introduced also into those of the East. Russell tells us, that the ladies of Aleppo are very fond of several European flowers that have been introduced into their gardens. A Bashaw of Egypt took great pains to preserve the balm of Matareah;* Cambyzes carried the peach into Egypt;† and it is thought to be out of doubt, that the cassia, the orange and lemon kind, apricot, moseh (a delicious fruit, but which cannot be kept,) the pomegranate, the cous, or cream-tree, are none of them natives of that country.‡ And can it be imagined then, that when novelties have been in all ages introduced into gardens, and that in the East as well as the West, there should not be any such in the days of a prince, who not only planted trees of all kinds of fruit for pleasure, Eccles. ii. 5., but who also distinguished himself

* Maillet, Lett. iii. p. 111.

† Lett. ix. p. 15.

‡ Pococke's Desc. of the East, Vol. I. p. 205.

by the study of natural history, and of vegetables in particular? 1 Kings iv. 33. What is more, Josephus expressly tells us, it was the tradition that the balsam, for which Judea was so famous, came from the queen of Sheba, who presented a root of it to Solomon.*

Nothing in this view could be more natural, than for the spouse to invite the bridegroom into a royal garden, among whose ancient precious productions, he had taken care to mingle some new plants of the most curious kind, which he might enjoy in the most perfect manner by going thither: *at our gates*, or, as it is elsewhere translated, *at our doors*, at hand that is, will you there find all manner of precious plants.

The words, understood in this sense, are by no means unnatural, if they are, on the other hand, supposed to be those of the bridegroom.

OBSERVATION LXV.

Of hunting in the Holy Land.

WHETHER Solomon, who amused himself with the study of plants, took also the diversion of hunting, we are not told; but there are various sorts of creatures in the Holy Land proper for this purpose. Wild boars, antelopes, hares, &c. are in considerable numbers there; and one of the Christian kings of Jerusalem lost his life, we are told,†

* Antiq. Lib. viii. c. 6.

† Gesta Dei, &c. p. 887, 888.

in pursuing one of the last-mentioned animals. But what I mention this for is to introduce a circumstance relating to the creatures with which they hunt, that I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the commentators, but to which a Prophet seems to refer, when he observes, that the horses of the Chaldeans would be found swifter than leopards, Hab. i. 8. : for leopards tamed, and taught to hunt, are, it is said, made use of in that country for hunting, and seize the prey with surprising agility.

So le Bruyn tells us, that he had often seen the Bashaw of Gaza go to hunt jackalls, which are in that country in great numbers, and which he took by means of a leopard, trained to it from his youth. The hunter, he says, is wont to keep it before him upon his horse; and when he meets with a jackall, the leopard leaps down, and creeps along, till he thinks himself within reach of the beast; when, with incredible agility, he leaps upon it, throwing himself seventeen or eighteen feet at a time.*

If we suppose that this way of hunting was in use in the time of the Prophet Habakkuk, the image was sufficiently familiar to the common people, who might be supposed to be ignorant of what was done by the wild leopards in the deserts, and must be very striking.

* Tome II. p. 154.

OBSERVATION LXVI.

Of fowling in the Holy Land.

FROM hunting, let us pass on to fowling. The famous Ludolphus, and after him Bishop Patrick, and the late Bishop of Clogher, believed that they were locusts, and not quails, that the children of Israel eat in the Wilderness. Dr. Shaw strongly argues the contrary;* but he takes no notice of the difficulties which induced Patrick to suppose they were locusts, and which he gives an account of in his comment on Numb. xi. 31, 32. They are these—Their coming with a wind; their immense quantities, covering a circle of thirty or forty miles diameter two cubits thick; their being spread in the sun for drying, which, he says, would have been preposterous if they had been quails, for it would have made them stink the sooner. Interpreters, therefore, he thinks, pass over this circumstance in silence, whereas all authors say, that this is the principal way of preparing locusts, to keep for a month or more, when they are boiled or otherwise dressed.

These difficulties appear pressing; or at least the two last: nevertheless, I have met with several passages in books of Travels, which I shall here give an account of, that may soften them; perhaps my Reader may think they do more.

No interpreters, the Bishop complains, supposing they were quails, account for the spreading them out in the sun. Perhaps they have not. Let me then translate a passage of Maillet,* which relates to a little island that covers one of the ports of Alexandria. "It is on this island, which lies farther into the sea than the main land of Egypt, that the birds annually alight, which come hither for refuge in autumn, in order to avoid the severity of the cold of our winters in Europe. There is so large a quantity of all sorts taken there, that after these little birds have been stripped of their feathers, and buried in the burning sands for about half a quarter of an hour, they are worth but two sols the pound. The crews of those vessels, which in that season lay in the harbour of Alexandria, have no other meat allowed them." Among other refugees of that time, Maillet elsewhere† expressly mentions quails, which are, therefore, I suppose, treated after this manner. This passage then does what, according to the Bishop, no commentator has done ; it explains the design of spreading these creatures, supposing they were quails, round about the camp—it was to dry them in the burning sands, in order to preserve them for use. So Maillet tells us of their drying fish in the sun in Egypt, as well as of their preserving others by means of pickle.‡ Other authors speak of some of the Arabs drying camels' flesh in the sun and wind ; which, though it be not at all salted, will, if kept dry, remain good

* Lett. iv. p. 130.

† Lett. ix. p. 21.

‡ Lett. xi. p. 110.

a long while ; and which oftentimes, to save themselves the trouble of dressing, they will eat raw.* This is what St. Jerom may be supposed to refer to, when he calls the food of the Arabs *carnes semi-crudæ*.†

This drying then of flesh in the sun is not so preposterous as the Bishop imagined. On the other hand, none of the authors that speak of their way of preserving locusts in the East, so far as I at present recollect, give any account of drying them in the sun. They are, according to Pellow, first purged with water and salt, boiled in new pickle, and then laid up in dry salt.‡ So Dr. Russell says the Arabs eat these insects when fresh, and also salt them up as a delicacy.

Their immense quantities also forbad the Bishop's believing they were quails. And, in truth, he represents this difficulty in all its force, perhaps too forcibly. A circle of forty miles in diameter, all covered with quails, to the depth of more than forty-three inches, without doubt is a startling representation of this matter ; and I would beg leave to add, that the like quantity of locusts would have been very extraordinary. But then this is not the representation of Scripture. It does not even agree with it : for such a quantity of either quails or locusts would have made the clearing places for the spreading them out, and the passing of Israel up and down in the neigh-

* Adventures of Thomas Pellow, p. 121.

† In Vita Malchi Monachi.

‡ P. 333.

bourhood of the camp, very fatiguing ; which is not supposed.

Josephus supposed they were quails, which, he says,* are in greater numbers thereabouts than any other kind of bird ; and that having crossed the sea to the camp of Israel, they, who in common fly nearer the ground than most other birds, flew so low, through the fatigue of their passage, as to be within reach of the Israelites. This explains what he thought was meant by *the two cubits from the face of the earth*—their flying within three or four feet of the ground.

And when I read Dr. Shaw's account of the way in which the Arabs frequently catch birds that they have tired, that is, by running in upon them, and knocking them down with their *zerwattys*, or bludgeons, as we should call them,† I think I almost see the Israelites before me, pursuing the poor fatigued and languid quails.

This is indeed a laborious method of catching these birds, and not that which is now used in Egypt ; for Egmont and Heyman tell us, that in a walk on the shore of Egypt they saw a sandy plain, several leagues in extent, and covered with reeds, without the least verdure, between which reeds they saw many nets placed for catching quails, which come over in large flights from Eu-

* Antiq. Lib. iii. cap. 1.

† P. 236. In which account the Doctor mentions the quail along with the woodcock, the rhaad, the kitawiah, and the partridge.

rope, during the month of September.* If the ancient Egyptians made use of the same method of catching quails that they now practise on those shores ; yet Israel in the Wilderness, without these conveniences, must of course make use of that more inartificial and laborious way of catching them. The Arabs of Barbary, who have not many conveniences, do the same thing still.

Bishop Patrick supposes a day's journey to be sixteen or twenty miles, and thence draws his circle with a radius of that length : but Dr. Shaw, on another occasion, makes a day's journey but ten miles,† which would make a circle but of twenty miles' diameter ; and as the text evidently designs to express it very indeterminately, as it were a day's journey, it might be much less.

But it does not appear to me at all necessary to suppose the text intended their covering a circular or nearly a circular spot of ground, but only that these creatures appeared on both sides of the camp of Israel, about a day's journey. The same word is used Exod. vii. 24., where *round about* can mean only on each side of the Nile. And so it may be a little illustrated by what Dr. Shaw tells us, of the three flights of storks which he saw when at anchor under the Mount Carmel, some of which were more scattered, others more compact and close, each of which took up more than three hours in passing, and extended itself more than half a mile in breadth.‡ Had this flight of quails been no

* Vol. II. p. 206, 207.

† P. 319.

‡ P. 409.

greater than these, it might have been thought, like them, to have been accidental ; but so unusual a flock as to extend fifteen or twenty miles in breadth, and to be two days and one night in passing, and this, in consequence of the declaration of Moses, plainly determined that the finger of God was there.

A third thing which was a difficulty with the Bishop, was their being brought with a wind. A hot southerly wind, it is supposed, brings the locusts ; and why quails might not be brought by the instrumentality of a like wind, or what difficulty there is in that supposition, I cannot imagine. As soon as the cold is felt in Europe, Maillet tells us,* turtles, quails, and other birds, come to Egypt in great numbers ; but he observed that their numbers were not so large in those years in which the winters were favourable in Europe ; from whence he conjectured, that it is rather necessity than habit which causes them to change their climate : if so, it appears that it is the increasing heat that causes their return ; and, consequently, that the hot sultry winds from the south must have a great effect upon them, to direct their flight Northwards.

It is certain, that it is about the time that the South-wind begins to blow in Egypt, which is in April,† that many of these migratory birds return. Maillet, who joins quails and turtles together, and says that they appear in Egypt when the cold be-

* Lett. ix. p. 21.

† Maillet, Lett. ii. p. 57, and Lett. xi. p. 109, 110.

gins to be felt in Europe, does not indeed tell us when they return ; but Thevenot may be said to do it, for after he had told his Reader that they catch snipes in Egypt from January to March, he adds, that in May they catch turtles ; and that the turtles return again in September.* Now as they go together southward in September, we may believe they return again northward much about the same time. Agreeably to which Russell tells us, that quails appear in abundance about Aleppo in spring and autumn.†

If natural history were more perfect, we might speak to this point with great distinctness. At present, however, it is so far from being an objection to their being quails, that their coming was caused by a wind, that nothing is more natural. The same wind would, in course, occasion sickness and mortality among the Israelites ; at least it does so in Egypt.‡ The miraculousness then in this story does not lie in their dying ; but the Prophet's foretelling with exactness the coming of that wind ; and in the prodigious numbers of the quails that came with it ; together with the unusualness of the place, perhaps, where they alighted.§

Nothing more remains to be considered, but the gathering so large a quantity as ten homers by those that gathered fewest. But till that quantity is more precisely ascertained, it is sufficient to remark, that this is only affirmed of those eager and

* Part I. p. 247. † Vol. II. p. 193.

‡ Maillet, Lett. ii. p. 57 ; Egmont and Heyman, Vol. II. p. 62.

§ Shaw, p. 449.

expert sportsmen among the people, who pursued the game two whole days and a whole night without intermission; and of them, and of them only, I presume it is to be understood, that he that gathered fewest gathered ten homers.*

OBSERVATION LXVII.

Critical Remarks on the kneading Troughs, said to have been used by the Israelites, on their leaving Egypt.

ISRAEL had been visited before this by a flock of quails,† though not near so numerous as that at Kibroth-Hattaavah: this fell out in the wilderness of Sin, about a month after their coming out of Egypt, until which time it seems the dough, or

* Hasselquist, who frequently expresses himself in the most dubious manner in relation to these animals, at other times is very positive, that if they were birds at all, they were a species of the quail different from ours, which he describes as very much resembling “the red partridge, but as not being larger than the turtle-dove.” To this he adds, that the Arabians carry thousands of them to Jerusalem about Whitsuntide, to sell there, p. 442. In another place he tells us, it is found in Judea, as well as Arabia Petræa, and that he found it betwixt Jordan and Jericho, p. 203. One would imagine, that Hasselquist means the *kata*, which is described by Dr. Russell, Vol. II. p. 194, and which he represents as brought to market at Aleppo in great numbers, in May and June, though they are to be met with in all seasons. A whole ass-load of them, he informs us, has often been taken at once shutting a clasp-net, in the above-mentioned month, they are in such plenty.

† Exod. xvi. 1, 8, 13.

corn, which they brought with them, lasted. This leads us to some other remarks.

The dough, we are told, which the Israelites had prepared for baking, and on which it should seem they subsisted after they left Egypt for a month, was carried away by them in their kneading troughs on their shoulders, *Exod. xii. 34.* Now a honest thoughtful countryman, who knows how cumbersome our kneading troughs are, and how much less important they are than many other utensils, may be ready to wonder at this, and find a difficulty in accounting for it. But this wonder perhaps may cease, when he comes to understand, that the vessels which the Arabs of that country make use of, for kneading the unleavened cakes they prepare for those that travel in this very desert, are only small wooden bowls;* and that they seem to use no other in their own tents† for that purpose, or any other, these bowls being used by them for kneading their bread, and afterwards serving up their provisions when cooked;‡ for then it will appear that nothing could be more convenient than kneading troughs of this sort for the Israelites, in their journey.

I am, however, a little doubtful, whether these were the things that Moses meant by that word which our version renders *kneading-troughs*; since it seems to me, that the Israelites had made a provision of corn sufficient for their consumption for about a month, and that they were preparing to

* See Shaw's Pref. p. 11, 12.

† Shaw, p. 231.

‡ Shaw's Pref. p. 13.

bake all this at once. Now their own little wooden bowls, in which they were wont to knead the bread they wanted for a single day, could not contain all this dough, nor could they well carry a number of these things, borrowed of the Egyptians for the present occasion, with them.

That they had furnished themselves with corn sufficient for a month, appears from their not wanting bread till they came into the wilderness of Sin; that the Eastern people commonly bake their bread daily, as they want it, appears from an Observation I have already made, and from the History of the Patriarch Abraham; and that they were preparing to bake bread sufficient for this purpose at once, seems most probable, from the universal bustle they were in, and from the much greater conveniences for baking in Egypt than in the wilderness, which are such, that though Dr. Shaw's attendants sometimes baked in the desert, he thought fit, notwithstanding, to carry biscuit with him,* and Thevenot the same.†

They could not well carry such a quantity of dough in those wooden bowls, which they used for kneading their bread in common. What is more, Dr. Pococke tells us,‡ that the Arabs actually carry their dough in something else: for, after having spoken of their copper dishes put one within another, and their wooden bowls, in which they make their bread, and which make up all the kitchen-

* Pref. p. 11.

† Part I. p. 178.

‡ In his account of the diet and utensils of the inhabitants of Egypt, Vol. I. p. 182, &c.

furniture of an Arab, even where he is settled ; he gives us a description of a round leather coverlid, which they lay on the ground, and serves them to eat off, which, he says, has rings round it, by which it is drawn together with a chain, that has a hook to it to hang it by. This is drawn together, he says, and sometimes they carry in it their meal made into dough ; and in this manner they bring it full of bread ; and when the repast is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left.

Whether this utensil is rather to be understood by the word *משארות* *misharoth*, translated *kneading-troughs*, than the Arab wooden bowl, I leave my Reader to determine. I would only remark, that there is nothing, in the other three places, in which the word occurs, to contradict this explanation. These places are Exod. viii. 3. Deut. xxviii. 5, 17, in the two last of which places it is translated *store*.

It is more than a little astonishing, to find Grotius, in his comment on Exod. xii. 39, explaining that verse as signifying, that they baked no bread in their departing from Egypt, but stayed till they came to Succoth, because they had not time to stay till it was leavened in Egypt ; when it is certain that they were so hurried out of Egypt, as to be desired not to stay to bake unleavened bread. Nor can we imagine they would stay till leaven, put into it at Succoth, had produced its effect in their dough, since travellers now in that desert often eat unleavened bread ; and the precepts of Moses, relating to their commemoration of their going out

of Egypt, suppose they eat unleavened bread for some time.

Succoth, the first station then of the Israelites, which Dr. Shaw supposes* was nothing more than some considerable encampment of Arabs, must have been a place where there was a considerable quantity of broom, or other fuel, which is not to be found in that desert every where.

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

Eagles fond of Cedars.

THE Prophet Ezekiel represents an eagle as flying to the cedars of Lebanon ;† and it seems there is a foundation in nature for the joining this bird and these trees together.

It is not to be expected, that the visionary representations made to the Prophets should always coincide with natural history ; but it seems this does. “ We employed the rest of the day,” says la Roque, in speaking of the spot where the cedars of Lebanon grow, “ inattentively surveying the beauties of this place, and of its neighbourhood, in measuring some of the cedars, and in cutting off many of their branches, with their cones, which we sent to Bsciarrai, with a number of a large eagle’s feathers, which were found in the same place.”‡

* P. 308.

† Ezek. xvii. 3.

‡ Voy. de Syrie & du Mont-Liban, p. 88.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

Of their Repositories for Corn, in the East.

DR. SHAW tells us,* that in Barbary, when the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *mattamores*, or subterraneous repositories ; two or three hundred of which are sometimes together, the smallest holding four hundred bushels. These are very common in other parts of the East, and are in particular mentioned by Dr. Russell,† as being in great numbers near Aleppo, about the villages, which make travelling there in the night very dangerous, the entry into them being only left open when they are empty.

The like method of keeping corn obtains in the Holy Land: le Bruyn speaks of deep pits at Rama, which he was told were designed for corn ;‡ and Rauwolff talks of three very large vaults at Joppa, actually used for the laying up grain when he was there.§ The treasures in the field, of wheat, and of barley, of oil, and of honey, which the ten men proposed to Ishmael as a ransom for their lives, Jer. xli. 8, were doubtless laid up in the same kind of repositories.

Dr. Shaw only speaks of the Arabs hiding corn in these *mattamores* : but as these ten Jews mentioned their having honey and oil in these reposito-

* P. 139.

† Vol. I. p. 76.

‡ Vol. II. p. 149, 150.

§ Tome I. p. 227.

ries, so the author of the History of the Piratical States of Barbary tells us,* that it is usual with the Arabs, when they expect the armies of Algiers, to secure their corn and other effects that are not portable, in subterraneous repositories, wandering about with their flocks, till the troops are returned to their quarters.

After this, the remark on this passage of Jeremiah, in the assembly's annotations, must extremely hurt a reader; and the more, when we consider it as the note of so considerable a man as Gataker. "I cannot assent to that learned interpreter, who renders the word, 'We have treasures hidden in a certain field:' for howsoever the term here used springs from a root that signifies to *hide*, and treasures are said sometimes to be *hidden*, Esay xlv. 3.; yet the word in general signifies *treasures*, or *stores*, whether hidden or other, Gen. xliii. 23. Nor is it probable that such stores as these, of so many sorts, should be hidden under ground in some one part of a field; and much less that all ten should so bestow their stores in any one place."

He objects to the hiding under ground, when these subterraneous repositories are so common; to the laying up there so many sorts of things, when every thing not portable is wont to be put into them; he cannot think that ten men should so bestow their goods, in any one place, when it appears from Shaw, that two or three hundred mattamores are sometimes together. In one word, Gataker, the

very learned Gataker, supposed that to be highly improbable, which was perfectly according to the custom of the East,* and especially in a time of difficulty and depredation, as that most certainly was. A striking proof this of the importance of attending to the remaining customs of Eastern antiquity, in a commentator on the Scriptures.

Pitts, who mentions these subterraneous barns, tells us, that they put straw at the bottom and sides of these places. Nevertheless, he gives us to understand, that though by this artful concealment of it their corn is preserved, when they are put to flight by the Bey, it is much damnified, being kept in so damp a place instead of a barn.†

Be it so : the danger of being robbed by the roving troops of people, that scoured the country at that time, was a sufficient cause to induce these ten men to hide their wheat, their barley, their oil, their honey, in the ground. Dr. Shaw, however, does not acquiesce in this as the cause of this management, though Hirtius long ago supposed it was, but thought it more probable that they were contrived in those earlier ages, as they continue to be used to this day, for the greater ease and convenience of the inhabitants; for it cannot be supposed, he says,

* Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on Jer. xli. 8, that the Eastern people, in many places, hide their corn thus, as I have seen in a hundred places in Turkey. In many they also bury their wine. This is done in the neighbourhood of the villages, and designed both to prevent their enemies finding these things, and also their great people that might pass that way, who would not pay them for what they took.

† P. 34.

that either the ancient Nomades, or the present Arabs, would be at the expense of erecting store-houses of stone, when they could, at a much cheaper rate, and at every station, where they are encamped to gather in the harvest, be served with these.*

This reasoning, from the expense being less, would certainly be conclusive, were it not for the account of Pitts, relating to the injury the corn is wont to receive by being buried, of which Shaw takes no notice. Perhaps then, to account for the use of these subterraneous barns in times or places of safety, we are to have recourse to what some travellers assure us is fact—that the corn of those countries is subject to be eaten by worms if kept in the open air,† which, with the cheapness of making the repositories, may be thought a sufficient balance against the injury it receives by being buried.

OBSERVATION LXX.

Ruins frequented by different Kinds of Vermin.

BATS, and other vermin, haunt old ruined places. So Thevenot, describing the open pyramid, tells us, there were a great many bats in it, which sometimes put out the candles which are

* P. 139, 140.

† See Sandys, p. 117. Fulcherius Carnotensis mentions the same thing. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 427.

made use of in examining that most ancient building ; that a particular hole, which he describes, had a great quantity of their dung in it ; and that they so swarmed there, that a Scotch gentleman, who was in the company, and seems alone to have had the courage to go down into it, was afraid he should have been eaten up by them.*

Egmont and Heyman mention the same circumstance, but enrich their account with the addition of owls, snakes, and other reptiles ; for which reason they thought it necessary to fire off some pistols before they ventured into the pyramids, these creatures being by that means frightened away to their lurking places.†

I do not know how accurate they are in mentioning snakes in the pyramid ; but it is certain, in buildings more ruined than that, such dangerous kinds of reptiles are very common ; so that Rauwolff, in his account of Babylon, tells us, some of its ruins are so full of vermin, that they have bored holes through them, that one may not come near them within half a mile, but only two months in the winter, when they came not out of their holes.‡

Are we not rather to understand the words of the Prophet Isaiah, ch. ii. 20., which seems to signify diggers of holes, of this sort of animals rather than of moles, which a single Hebrew term is supposed to express, Lev. xi. 30., and which have no connection, that I know of, with ruins ?

* Part. I. p. 82.

† Vol. II. p. 87.

‡ Ray's Travels, Tome I. p. 165.

For the thought of the Prophet seems to me to be, that the inhabitants of that country were to go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, to hide themselves from the vengeance of the LORD, to be executed by hostile armies,* leaving their temples, with their idols in them, to be demolished by their hands; in which state of desolation these idols should long lie, companions of those that are wont to bore holes in ruins, and also of bats, the frequenters of such destroyed places; not that they were to carry their idols into caves and holes of the earth, to secrete them from their enemies.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

Curious Method of sealing the Places where the Stores of the Grand Signior are kept.

THE birds pillage the granary of Joseph extremely, where the corn of Egypt is deposited that is paid as a tax to the Grand Signior, for it is quite uncovered at the top, there being little or no rain in that country. Its doors, however, are kept carefully sealed; but its inspectors do not make use of wax upon this occasion, but put their seal upon a handful of clay, with which they cover the lock of the door.† This serves

* 1 Sam. xiii. 6.

† Norden, Part I. p. 72. Dr. Pococke gives a similar account, only says the corn is covered with matting. Vol. I. p. 26.

instead of wax ; and it is visible, things of the greatest value might be safely sealed up in the same manner.

Had Junius known this circumstance, or had he at least reflected on it, he would not perhaps have explained Job xxxviii. 14., *It is turned as clay to the seal*, of the potters adorning clay with various paintings, or various embossings,* especially had he considered, that the productions of the wheel of the potter, in the age and the country of Job, were, in all probability, very clumsy unadorned things, since even, still in Egypt, the ancient source of arts, the ewer, which is made, according to Norden,† very clumsy, is one of the best pieces of earthenware that they have there, all the art of the potter, in that country, consisting in an ability to make some vile pots or dishes, without varnish.

OBSERVATION LXXII.

Of the Mode of sending Petitions to the Eastern Princes.

As they use not wax in sealing up doors, but clay, so they use ink, not wax, in sealing their writings in the East. So d'Arvieux tells us,‡ that “ the Arabs of the desert, when they want a favour of their Emir, get his secretary to write an

* Vide Poli Synopsis, in loco.

† Part 1. p. 82.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 154.

order agreeable to their desire, as if the favour was granted: this they carry to the prince, who, after having read it, sets his seal to it with ink, if he grants it; if not, he returns the petitioner his paper torn, and dismisses him." In another place he informs us, that "these papers are without date, and have only the Emir's flourish or cypher at the bottom, signifying, *The poor, the abject Mehemet, son of Turabeye.*"*

Two things appear in these passages. The one, that the Arab seals have no figure engraven on them, but a simple inscription, formed, with some art, into a kind of cypher; the other, that when they seal, they do not make an impression on wax, but stamp letters of ink on the paper.†

The modern inhabitants of Egypt appear to make use of ink in their sealing, as well as the Arabs of the desert, who may be supposed not to have such conveniencies as those that live in such a place as Egypt: for Dr. Pococke says,† that "they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked when they have occasion to seal with it."

* Page 61.

† I have seen multitudes of *Arabic* and *Persian seals*, and have never observed one with any kind of *figure* or image on it. The *inscription*, which is generally the name and titles of the owner, is always a highly finished piece of *Caligraphy*. I have seen also many *Firmans*, &c. signed with the hand of the Sultan, Emperor, &c. but never saw any *wax* or similar substance affixed: they have simply the name in a curiously *involved cypher*.—EDIT.

† Vol. I. p. 186. Notes.

This may serve to shew us, that there is a closer connexion between the vision of St. John, Rev. vii. 2., and that of Ezekiel, ch. ix. 2., than commentators appear to have apprehended. They must be joined, I imagine, to have a complete view of either. St. John saw an angel with the seal of the living God, and therewith multitudes were sealed in the foreheads; but, to understand what sort of a mark was made there, you must have recourse to the inkhorn of Ezekiel. On the other hand, Ezekiel saw a person equipped with an inkhorn, who was to mark the servants of God on their foreheads, with ink that is: but how the ink was to be applied is not expressed; nor was there any need that it should, if in those times ink was applied with a seal being in the one case plainly supposed; as, in the Apocalypse, the mention of a seal made it needless to take any notice of an inkhorn by his side.

This position of the inkhorn of Ezekiel's writer may appear somewhat odd to an European reader; but the custom of placing it by the side continues in the East to this day. Olearius, who takes notice* of a way that they have of thickening their ink with a sort of paste they make, or with sticks of Indian ink, which is the best paste of all, a circumstance favourable to their sealing with ink, observes,† that the Persians carried about with them,

* *Voy. en Moscovie, &c.* p. 857.

† P. 817. Dr. Shaw also speaks of their writers suspending their inkhorns by their side. I should not therefore have taken any notice of this circumstance, had not the account of Olearius led us to something farther.

by means of their girdles, a dagger, a knife, a handkerchief, and their money ; and those that follow the profession of writing out books, their inkhorn, their penknife, their whetstone to sharpen it, their letters, and every thing the Moscovites were wont in his time to put in their boots, which served them instead of pockets. The Persians, in carrying their inkhorns after this manner, seem to have retained a custom as ancient as the days of Ezekiel ; while the Moscovites, whose garb was very much in the Eastern taste in the days of Olearius, and who had many Oriental customs among them, carried their inkhorns and their papers in a very different manner. Whether some such variations might cause the Egyptian translators of the Septuagint version to render the words, *a girdle of sapphire, or embroidery on the loins*, I will not take upon me to affirm ; but I do not imagine our Dr. Castell would have adopted this sentiment in his *Lexicon*,* had he been aware of this Eastern custom : for with great propriety is the word קֶסֶת *keseth* mentioned in this chapter three times, if it signified an *inkhorn*, the requisite instrument for sealing those devout mourners ; but no account can be given why this קֶסֶת should be mentioned so often, if it only signified an *embroidered girdle*.

As to the other point relating to the Arab seals, —their having no figures upon them, only an inscription, it is to be thought that those of the Jews were in like manner without any images, since they were as scrupulous as the Mohammedans can

* See Lowth upon the place.

be ; and from hence it will appear, that it was extremely natural for St. Paul to make a seal and an inscription equivalent terms, in 2 Tim. ii. 19. ; *The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, (this inscription,) The Lord knoweth those that are His ; and let every one that nameth the name of CHRIST depart from iniquity.*

OBSERVATION LXXIII.

Of the Manner of reaping in the East.

WE have frequently had occasion to speak of corn in the course of these papers ; but I have, however, never yet taken notice of the way of *reaping* it, which, according to an observation made by Mr. Maundrell, in his return from Jerusalem,* is performed in the East, by plucking it up by handfuls from the roots, leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had grown there. This was their practice, he says, in all places of the East which he had seen ; and from thence he concludes that our old version of Psa. cxxix. 6. “ Which withereth afore it be plucked up,” in which there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom, is better than our new translation.

I cannot, however, I confess, be of the opinion of this very ingenious author in this point : because the Hebrew word שָׁלַף *shalaph*, which is

* P. 144.

commonly used for *reaping*, does by no means signify plucking up, but shortening, which is most naturally explained by cutting; and I have nowhere remarked the idea of plucking up, applied to the reaping of their corn, unless we are to understand the passage so; for the original word שלף *shalaph*, used by the Psalmist, appears nowhere else but in the sense of unsheathing a sword, and drawing off a shoe. I am, therefore, at a loss to judge on what grounds Maundrell so much prefers the old translation, unless we are to ascribe it to his being struck, at his first arrival in those countries, with their manner of reaping; and that, recollecting this old translation, he was pleased with the thought, and gave himself no trouble to examine it. The idea of the Psalmist in reality seems to be, “Which withereth before it unsheaths its ear.”

When Mr. Maundrell made his observation, he had seen no great part of these countries; though therefore then he had always seen them plucking up their harvest, it does not follow that it is universally their way, much less that it was so anciently. It is allowed that it is now very common in the East: it is not, however, universal: for though Dr. Pococke found it was plucked up in the neighbourhood of Damascus;* yet a few days after, upon his leaving Hems, (the ancient Emesa,) he found they reaped their corn in those parts; and he expressly remarks the difference that obtains between these two places.† So Dr. Russell, in his

* Vol. II. p. 130.

† P. 142.

description of Aleppo and its neighbourhood, tells us,* the corn is sometimes cut down, though more frequently plucked up. “As soon as it is cut down, or rather plucked up, (for this is their more usual way,) it is carried to some neighbouring spot of hard even ground,” &c. Maundrell was Chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, near which, according to Russell, both ways are made use of; but we are to remember his book was drawn up presently after his arrival there, and his observation therefore by no means to be opposed to Russell’s account.

Both ways then are in use in the Levant at this time; and from what has been said, we are led to conclude, the old Jewish way was in common to *cut down*. To which may be added, that we read of a *sickle* for reaping, in no fewer than four different places, Deut. xvi. 9. Ch. xxiii. 25. Jer. l. 16. Joel iii. 13., which confirms the conjecture drawn from the sense of the word used to express reaping: and when in the second of these we find an opposition made between plucking the ears with the hand, and moving a sickle into a neighbour’s standing-corn, the first permitted, and the other forbidden, just as immediately before they were permitted to eat what they pleased of the grapes of a neighbour’s vineyard, but not to put any in a vessel, one can hardly imagine that reaping was ever performed in the days of Moses, in Egypt or Canaan, by *plucking up*.

* Vol. I. p. 75.

OBSERVATION LXXIV.

*Oxen employed in carrying Burdens on their
Backs.*

DANDINI seems to have been surprised to see oxen employed to carry burdens upon their backs, like camels, mules, and asses, such as wood, and other necessities, when he was making his observations on the customs of the East, at Tripoly of Syria, contrary to the old saying,

*Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.**

And he repeats the same remarks in the close of this account.†

But it appears from 1 Chron. xii. 40., that it was an ancient, as it is a modern, Eastern practice: *Moreover, they that were nigh them, even unto Issachar, and Zebulon, and Napthali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, and meat, meal, cakes of figs, &c.*

* Ch. vi.

† “ We saw there (*Alexandretta* or *Scandaroon*) oxen and bufflers carrying burdens upon their backs, as mules and horses do in Italy.”

OBSERVATION LXXV.

Hay rarely made in the East—What is meant by the King's mowings, Amos vii. 1.

ABOUT the time that they repair to the gardens at Aleppo;* they began to lead out the cattle to feed in the common pastures of Judea, those that tended them dwelling in huts, which they erected for that purpose; for the old Jewish writers tell us, that this was done about the time of the Pass-over,† which fell out generally some time in April.

This account agrees with that circumstance the Prophet mentions, Amos vii. 1., of the appearance of locusts, which he saw, in a vision, devouring the grass of the land, *in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings.* This, however, does not immediately appear; and some mistakes relating to this text ought to be rectified.

Shaw observes,‡ and other authors confirm it, that hay is seldom, if ever, made in those countries. Our translators then are out, in making use of that word *hay* in some parts of their version; and, on the same ground, the term גִּזְזֵעַם *gezzeem*, *mowings*, in his text cannot be proper. The famous Mercer supposes,§ the *latter growth* signifies

* See Observ. LIII.

† Gem. Nedarim 63, apud Rel. Antiq. Sac.

‡ P. 138.

§ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

the grass that sprung up after mowing, or feeding it down ; and I presume the Hebrew word, translated mowing, may signify *feeding down*, as well as *cutting down* with a scythe, and does so signify, since it is not the usage of the East to *make hay*. The *king's mowings* then should be rendered the *king's feedings* in the first place.

In the next, there is reason to conjecture, from the following passage of la Roque,* that the time of the king's feedings was the month of March, or thereabouts. "The Arabs," he tells us, from the papers of d'Arvieux, "turn their horses out to grass in the month of March, when the grass is pretty well grown ; they then take care to have their mares covered, and they eat grass at no other time in the whole year, any more than hay : they never give them any straw but to heat them, when they have been some time without discovering an inclination to drink ; they live wholly upon barley."

The Arab horses are all designed for riding and war ; so, there is reason to believe, were those of the kings of Israel :† and if the present usages of the Arabs prevailed anciently, they were turned out early in the spring, in the month of March, and at other times were nourished with barley. These things seem to determine the time of the king's feedings to March, of the shooting up of the latter growth of April.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

† Dr. Russell tells us, the plowing of Syria is performed often by a little cow, at most with two, and sometimes only by an ass, Vol. I. p. 73. Carriages also were anciently drawn by cows, 1 Sam. vi. 7.

This last circumstance is confirmed by the locusts, mentioned by the Prophet, which appear in the Holy Land in April and May ;* for though our translators here call them grasshoppers, and *green worms* in the margin, the word is elsewhere by them rendered *locusts*, (Isa. xxxiii. 4.,) and it appears by the mischief they did, that they were really insects of that kind.

The horses of the powerful kings of Israel were very numerous, as appears by the account we have of Solomon's. Uzziah and Jeroboam, in whose time Amos prophesied, were very powerful princes. They appear to have been very careful of them ; and, as we may collect from Ahab's great concern, in a time of drought, to get grass for the horses and mules, when nothing is said about his solicitude for other cattle. Where should these horses, kept for the defence of the kingdom, be put to grass, but in the common pastures, during the month of March ? A prohibition to the subjects to turn in their flocks and their herds, till this time was past, was natural.

These things, put together, place the whole in a very easy light ; as well as shew the extreme impropriety of the interpretation of Vatablus, who imagines this latter growth refers to the springing of the grass afresh, upon the falling of the rain in autumn. Locusts are not wont, I think, to appear at that time ; and if they had, the loss of feed would have been little or nothing to the inhabitants, according to these old Jewish writers ;

* Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 424.

for they affirm that on the falling of the first rains the herds returned home ; whereas we are to suppose the vision of Amos represented to him the coming of locusts to eat up the feed, as soon as the king's horses were withdrawn ; and the inhabitants hoped to enjoy the plenty of April and May, before the scorching heat of summer withered the grass, at the end of the last of these months.

OBSERVATION LXXVI.

Giving a Person Drink the strongest Assurance, that can be given in the East, of receiving a Person into Protection.

JAEL certainly shewed her regard to Israel by destroy'ng Sisera ; but it is as certain that she did not do it in the most honourable manner. There was treachery in it ; perhaps, in the estimation of those people, the greatest treachery : for, among the later Arabs, the giving a person a drink has been thought to be the strongest assurance of receiving him under protection. If the same notion obtained anciently, Jael must, in consequence, have been considered as extremely treacherous.

D'Herbelot occasionally mentions this Arab point of honour, in p. 371. ; and more distinctly in the articles of Harmozan and Saladine : in the last of which he tells, that when Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, was taken prisoner, and was conducted before Saladine, he demanded drink, and

they gave him fresh water, which he drank in Saladin's presence. But when one of his lords would have done the same, Saladin would not suffer it, because he did not intend to spare his life ; on the contrary, advancing to him, after some expostulations, he cut off his head.*

If this Arab custom was in use among the Kenites, (who were Arabs,) in Sisera's time, her giving him drink was the strongest assurance she could give, that she would protect him as far as she could. The custom, however, might possibly be later than her days.

* The account is given by Abu'l Feda, and is very curious : it relates to the death of the famous Renaud, or Arnald, prince of Caracca, who, being taken prisoner at the bloody battle of Hillen, in which the crusaders were totally defeated by Salahedeen, was killed by the Sultan in his own tent. The words of Abu'l Feda are the following : " And when the battle was ended, the Sultan seated himself in his tent, and sent for the king of the Franks, and placed him by his side ; and the heat and thirst were tormenting to him : then the Sultan presented to him liquor cooled with snow ; and the king of the Franks, having drank, offered it to Prince Arnald of Caracca ; but the Sultan said to him, ' This wretch shall not drink of the water with my permission, in which there would be safety for him.' Then the Sultan addressed the Prince, and reviled and upbraided him for his perfidy, and his attempts on the two sacred cities (*Mecca and Medina*;) and the Sultan rose up himself, and smote him on the neck," i. e. cut off his head.

—EDIT.

OBSERVATION LXXVII.

Of raising Heaps of Stones, in Commemoration of remarkable Transactions.

BISHOP PATRICK, in his commentary on 2 Sam. xviii. 17., which mentions the laying a great heap of stones upon Absalom, observes that thus he was, after a sort, stoned : as the law ordered a rebellious son to be. And that Adricomius, in his description of the Holy Land, says that this heap remained to his days ; and that all travellers, as they went by it, were wont to throw a stone to add to the heap, in detestation of his rebellion against his father.

And after this manner this Eastern custom is, I think, commonly understood : but if it be true, which Egmont and Heyman tell us, that all the Mohammedans that go in pilgrimage to Mount Sinai never fail to visit the place where there is the print of a camel's foot on the rock, supposed to be that of Mohammed, on which account they, by way of respect, bring with them a stone, which has occasioned a great heap of stones near that spot ;* it is evident that these heaps are considered by the Eastern people merely as monuments to keep up the memory of certain events, good as well as bad ; and that the adding a stone to them, by every one that approaches them, is in truth only

* Vol. II. p. 167.

intended to prevent the dissipation of these uncelebrated memorials.

The first raising this heap of stones over Absalom was, in like manner, intended merely as a memorial of this battle, and of the place in which he lay buried ; and by no means as a kind of executing the law relating to rebellious sons upon him, like the hanging people in effigy : as we may conclude from their being wont then, as well as now, to have heaps of stones for the preserving pleasing things in remembrance, as well as facts that deserved detestation, which plainly appears from Josh. iv. 3, 6,* and from Gen. xxxi. 46, 52.

Wortley Montague, in the fifty-sixth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, has taken notice also of this ; and the index of that volume very justly describes it as a remarkable custom of the Arabs. “ The Arabs,” says that gentleman, “ when they have any stone or spot in veneration, as Mohammed’s stone, and the like, after their devotion, lay some smooth stone upon it.” And he tells us, that the stone that Moses struck twice, being thus distinguished by the Arabs, engaged his notice, as he was travelling in the deserts of Arabia.

I would beg leave here to ask, was not this precisely what was done to the stone set up by Jacob, in Mount Gilead, as a memorial of the covenant made between him and Laban, when he withdrew from Padan-aram, which is mentioned in the

* See also Dr. Shaw’s Preface, p. 10.

last cited Scripture? I have sometimes wondered, what induced Jacob to desire his Syrian relations to gather stones, and make a heap, upon or about that great stone he had set up in memory of that covenant; but this account seems to decypher it. Jacob had not time, if he had proper tools with him, and skill sufficient, to engrave the agreement on the great stone; but the placing these stones about it informed every passenger it was set up in memory of something of consequence; and every relation that put one of these smaller stones on that Jacob set up, made himself a witness to the agreement, as well as recommended it to the attention of others. It is in this light I now consider this circumstance; and it seems to be a natural explanation of Jacob's request.

OBSERVATION LXXVIII.

Of rendering Fields unfruitful by filling them with Stones.

COMMENTATORS take no pains, that I know of, to account for that part of the punishment of the king of Moab's rebellion; *Ye shall mar every good piece of land with stones*, though it does not appear very easy to conceive how this was to be done to any purpose, and indeed without giving as much trouble, or more, to Israel to gather these stones, and carry them on their lands as to the Moabites to gather them up again, and carry them off.

I would, therefore, propose it to the learned to consider, whether we may not understand this of Israel's doing that nationally, and as victors, which was done by private persons very frequently in these countries in ancient times, by way of revenge, and which is mentioned in some of the old Roman laws, I think, cited by Egmont and Heyman,* who, speaking of the contentions and vindictive temper of the Arabs, tell us, they were ignorant, however, whether they still retained the method of revenge formerly common among them, and which is called *σκοπελισμος*, mentioned, in *Lib. ff. Digest. de extraord. criminib.* which contains the following account. *In provinciâ Arabiâ, &c.* That is, “in the province of Arabia there is a crime called *σκοπελισμος*, or fixing of stones; it being a frequent practice among them, to place stones in the grounds of those with whom they are at variance, as a warning, that any person who dares to till that field should infallibly be slain, by the contrivance of those who placed the stones there.” This malicious practice, they add, is thought to have had its origin in Arabia Petræa.

If the Israelites, as victors, who could prescribe what laws they thought proper to the conquered, placed such stones in the best grounds of the Moabites, as interdicting them from tillage, on pain of their owners being destroyed, they, without much trouble, effectually marred such fields as long as their power over Moab lasted, which had before this continued some time, and by the sup-

* Vol. II. p. 156.

pression of this rebellion might be supposed to continue long. As it was an ancient practice in these countries, might it not be supposed to be as ancient as the times of Elisha, and that he referred to it?

Perhaps *the time to cast away stones*, and *the time to gather stones together*, mentioned by the Royal Preacher, Eccles. iii. 5., is to be understood, in like manner, of giving to nations, with which there had been contests, the marks of perfect reconciliation, or continuing upon them some tokens of displeasure and resentment. If we suppose the latter part of the verse is exegetical of the former, which the learned know is very common in the Hebrew poetry, it will better agree with this explanation, than with that which supposes, that the *casting away of stones* means the *demolishing of houses*, and the *gathering them together*, the *collecting them for building*; since the casting away of stones answers to embracing; in the latter part of the verse, not to the refraining from embracing. It may be supposed, indeed, that a transposition might be intended; such an one appears in the eighth verse: but it is to be observed, that the eighth verse finishes this catalogue of different seasons, and there is no transposition in the other particulars. To which may be added, that this explanation makes the casting away of stones, and gathering them together, of the fifth verse, precisely the same thing with the breaking down and building up of the third: the supposing a greater variety of thought here will be no dishonour to the royal poet.

OBSERVATION LXXIX.

Of pretended Divination by Cups.

WHEN Norden was at Derri, in the farthest part of Egypt, or rather in Nubia, in a very dangerous situation, from which he and his company endeavoured to extricate themselves by exerting great spirit; a spiteful and powerful Arab, in a threatening way, told one of their people, whom they sent to him, "that he knew what sort of people they were; that he *consulted his cup*, and had found by it, that they were those of whom one of their prophets had said, that Franks would come in disguise, and passing every where, examine the state of the country, and afterwards bring over a great number of other Franks, conquer the country, and exterminate all."*

No one, I imagine, supposes that he meant any thing more by consulting his cup, than we do when we talk of *consulting our pillow*. Was it not, however, precisely the same thing, that this Arab who lived in the confines of Egypt, and Joseph the Egyptian viceroy, meant, when the one talked of having *consulted his cup*, and the other of *divining* by it, Gen. xliv. 5. ? It is certain, the Patriarch could not mean to make them believe the cup was, properly speaking, an instru-

* Vol. II. p. 150.

ment of divination, because he divined without it, and made out which way he had lost it. May not both then be supposed to mean that alertness and penetration which wine, taken in a proper quantity, gives the mind? It is certain there is a great similarity in these expressions, whatever be the precise meaning of the words of Joseph.*

OBSERVATION LXXX.

Curious Remarks on genealogical Tables.

GENEALOGICAL tables were kept among the Jews with great exactness. Every person of learning, however, knows, that the great difference in this point between St. Matthew and St. Luke, who have each of them given us a genealogy of our LORD, has greatly embarrassed the curious, and did so early.† But, as in other cases, what was at

* The Viceroy meant nothing of what Mr. Harmer here imagines. He evidently alludes to the famous *divining cup* of Jemsheed, well known in the Eastern romances by the name of جام جم *jami jem*, or, جام جمشید *jami jemsheed*, which was supposed to represent the whole world, and all that was passing in it. The Oriental fabulists suppose that both Alexander the Great, and Solomon king of Israel, had such a cup, and that they *divined* by it. The Egyptian viceroy, from a principle of vain glory, and supposing he should surely terrify Norden and his company into his measures, pretended that he had a cup similar to that of *Jemsheed*.—EDIT.

† Vide August. *Retract. Lib. ii. cap. 7.*

first thought an objection against the sacred writer, has turned out in his favour; so, doubtless, will this when it be thoroughly cleared up. Time may perhaps do it; all I would attempt to shew here is, that there has been lately discovered an inscription at Palmyra which has just the same difficulty. He that clears up the Syrian difficulty, will, I presume, clear up the Sacred. To which I would add, that it is to be remembered, that Palmyra was in the neighbourhood of Judea; and the inscriptions that are found there are about the apostolic age.

As to the inscription I refer to, the ingenious Editor of those Ruins observed, that it was more difficult to understand than translate it. "This," says he, "will appear by rendering it literally, which is easiest done in Latin, thus: *Senatus populusque, Alialamenem, Pani filium, Mocimi nepotem Æranis pronepotem, Mathæ abnepotem, et Æranem patrem ejus, viros pios et patriæ amicos, & omnimodi placentes patriæ patriisque diis, honoris gratiâ anno 450, mense Aprili.*

"Our difficulty is," continues he, "that Æranes is called the father of Alialamenes, who* is called the son of Panus."

Mr. Wood, the Editor, has given us the inscription, and remarked the difficulty: but he has not applied it to the genealogies of our LORD, where, just in the same manner, St. Matthew tells us, that Jacob begat Joseph, and St. Luke calls Joseph the son of Heli. There is something, without

* Alialamenes.

doubt, in these affairs peculiar to the East, which, however unknown to us, was common to the Jews and the people of Palmyra ; and will, when properly explained, be a proof of the authenticity of these genealogies, instead of an objection to them.

I would not, however, be understood to affirm, that the true solution is unknown ; possibly, all that may be wanted, is the more thoroughly evincing the truth of it, and explaining the matter more at large.

OBSERVATION LXXXI.

Of the Term Everlasting Father, as applied to our LORD, Isaiah ix. 6.

EVERY body almost knows, that it is usual, in Scripture language, to describe the qualities or relations of a person, by calling him the *son* of *such* and *such a thing* ; but people are not as generally aware, that it is usual to point out the same thing by calling him the *father* of *this* and that *thing* ; yet this is really the fact, and an attention to it is requisite to a due understanding of some places in Scripture.

Dr. Shaw has mentioned this Eastern custom, but he has not applied it : it will not be improper, then, to do it in these papers. Speaking of an African Marabbot, or Saint, the Doctor tells us, that it was affirmed that “ he had a solid iron bar, which, upon command, would give the same noise with a cannon, and do the like execution.” He then

adds in a note, "this name, by interpretation, is the *Son of a Cannon*: several persons in that country having their cognomina from some quality or other, for which they are remarkable. Of this quality they are either called *Abbon*, i. e. *Father*, or *Ibn*, *Ben*, i. e. *Son of it*. Thus a fat man is called *Abbon Kersh*, i. e. the *Father of a Belly*, &c."*

It seems from hence to be a very indifferent thing, whether a person should be denominated the *Son* or the *Father* of a thing, since, if it were not so, one would have imagined he should rather have been called the *Father of a cannon*, than the *Son of a cannon*, which yet it seems was his cognomen.

The knowledge of this Eastern custom is of great consequence, to illustrate one of the titles given to the Messiah by the Prophet Isaiah, ch. ix. 6.—*the Everlasting Father*. It may have given pain to some minds, very possibly, as if there was a sort of improper confusion of titles here, and that given to the Messiah, which was appropriate to the first of the Sacred Three—*the Everlasting Father*.

But this pain gradually wears off, as we find the original words אבי עד *abee âd*, the *Father of that which is everlasting*, or the *Father of eternity*; and afterwards find, that the Eastern people are wont to describe any quality of a person, by calling him the *Father of that quality*. CHRIST as the head, and introducer, of an everlasting dispensa-

* P. 244.

tion, never to give place to another, was very naturally, in their style, called the *Father of eternity*, or the *Father of that which is everlasting*; which our translators render, perhaps a little unhappily, *the everlasting Father*. This is no new interpretation: the celebrated Vitringa, in his noble commentary on this Prophet, explains the words, *Pater æternitatis, sive Conditor Sæculi eterni*; that is, the *Father of eternity*, or, *the Former of an eternal age*.

What is new here, is the bringing into view, upon this occasion, the Eastern custom, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, but not applied by him to the elucidation of any passage of Holy Writ, and also the confirming and enlarging the Doctor's account, by other examples, of an Oriental custom not well known here in the West, at least not recollected as it ought to have been, the very industrious and curious Vitringa taking no notice of it in his remarks on this passage.

To the instance then mentioned by Shaw, I would add that of Maillet, who tells us, that Egypt is filled with kites, and that the Arabs call this bird the *father of the air*, to express the excellency of his flying;* that of d'Herbelot, who tells us, that the Khalif Moavia II. being of a very weak and infirm constitution, and unable often to appear in the day-time, was called *Abou Leilah*, that is, *the father of the night*;† and that other mentioned by the same writer,‡ who, speaking of a very eminent physician, says, he did such

* Lett. ix. p. 22.

† P. 587.

‡ P. 440.

admirable cures, that he was surnamed *Aboul Berekiat*, the *father of benedictions*.

Not very far remote from these instances is the Arab name of an African city, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, p. 109.: called, *Boo Hadgar*, or, the *father of a stone*, that is, the *stony city*. He also tells us of an Arabian bird, which is called *Ach Bobba*, which words, in the Turkish language, he observes, signify *white father*: a name given it partly out of the reverence they have for it, partly from the colour of its plumage.

OBSERVATION LXXXII.

Curious Criticisms on Isaiah xii. 14—16.

It appears that she whom the Prophet Isaiah married,† and who was to be the mother of that child, before whose attaining the knowledge of good and evil the two kings of Syria and Israel were to be removed, was a virgin, and that there was something extraordinary in that circumstance.

It has been objected, what was there extraordinary in a virgin's marrying, and nine months after having a child?

* So Schultens, in a note on the sixth Arabian Assembly, tells us, that the principal leader of the Karegites, for twenty years, was called *Abu Naâma*, (which, I think, signifies *father of the Ostrich*,) from the horse he used to ride on: called *Naâma*, because in swiftness it exceeded an ostrich, which, in Arabic, is *Naâmah*.

† Isa. vii. 14—16. ch. viii. 3, 4.

Something, however, extraordinary is supposed here, but it may not be so easy to determine what.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on Isa. lxii. 5., *for as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee*, tells us, “ that it is the custom in the East for *youths* that were never married always to marry *virgins*, and *widowers*, however young, to marry *widows* ; and that Christians hardly ever depart from this observation ; so that widowers and widows intermarry as soon as they can, because they cannot expect to marry any others, it not being the custom there.”

If this custom was as ancient as the days of Isaiah, his marrying a virgin must have appeared extraordinary : since, as this was done in the time of Ahaz, whose father Jotham reigned sixteen years, and Isaiah began to prophesy in the time of Uzziah his grandfather, the Prophet could not have been very young at the time of this prediction on the one hand ; and on the other, every body knows that the Eastern people, and none more than the Jews, married very early in life. Isaiah must, according to this, be supposed to have been married before this time ; and, consequently, his marrying a virgin might appear particular, and be designed to point out something deserving attention.

It was more particular still, if the person to be married was one that was understood to have determined to pass her days in a state of virginity. She appears to have been called a Prophetess, Isa. viii. 3. : this was previous to her becoming a prophet's wife, and should seem to point out a per-

son who devoted herself to retirement and study, and, consequently, to a single life. Lady Montague tells us, there is no remaining honourably a single woman among the Turks;* and I think she somewhere says it is esteemed a mark of reprobation; for bringing forth and educating children are the proper duties of a female.† It is supposed posterity was, at least, equally desired among the Jewish people; nevertheless, we find some of their females continued in a single state; and that circumstance, and their prophesying, are united together, Acts xxi. 9. If there was a like union between them in these more ancient times, Isaiah, when he married a Prophetess, married a virgin in a stronger sense than common.

In either case, the prophetic management was particular; if they were joined together, it was extremely remarkable.

All the present establishment given to the faith and hope of that generation, that the house of

* Letters, Vol. III. p. 36, 37.

† The Parsees at Guzerat prevent as much as possible all celibacy, as they conceive virginity to be a *crime*. Their girls are marriageable at three years of age, and are brought to their husband's house when about six; but the marriage is not consummated till thirteen, unless she have had her Catamenia.

When a girl is of age she may present herself to her father, brother, or guardian, and demand to be married: if her request is not attended to by her kindred, they are considered as guilty of the most *heinous crime*. But on the other hand, if she refuse to be married when desired by her relations, and persist in that resolution till she be 18 years of age, and die a virgin, whatever good works she may have done, she shall go to hell, and continue in it till the Resurrection. See Zend Avesta, Vol. II. p. 557.—EDIT.

David should not be overwhelmed with destruction, when two such threatening enemies as the kings of Syria and Israel were leagued together against it, (and it was a common policy to exterminate whole families to which royalty had belonged,)* was the Prophet's pointing out a particular person, who should almost immediately conceive, should go happily through the states of her pregnancy, should bear a son, which son should live till both those countries were forsaken of their kings, and this event to happen before he was capable of discerning between good and evil. All these were contingencies which might not happen; and, on the contrary, when the prediction appeared to be verifying from point to point, their hope must be greatly confirmed, that the house of David should continue, and that the promises relating to the Messiah, who was to reign for ever and ever, should be fulfilled, contrary to their anxious forebodings.

It does not appear that this child's mother being a virgin had any thing to do in the establishment of the faith and hope of that generation; it must have been so distinctly mentioned on some other account—What? is the question.

The Jews must be perplexed to assign the reason: not so the disciples of JESUS. For though the virginity of the mother of that child had nothing to do with the men of that generation; yet, it being somehow connected with the appearance of Him who was the Hope of Israel, and the Glory

* See 1 Kings xv. 29. ch. xvi. 11. 2 Kings xi. 1.

of the House of David, it is reasonable to believe it was as a representation of what was to be his case—that he was to be the first-born of his mother, and that his mother was to be somehow or other a virgin, in a remarkable sense. The first thought seems to be absolutely necessary to be adopted: yet, if this had been all, one would hardly imagine it should have been pointed out with quite so much solemnity—the second seems at least to be a great probability.

Answerable to all this, the New Testament represents the Messiah as the first-born of his mother; and it describes her as a virgin in such a sense, as that his birth was ennobled by being miraculous.

Nothing is more natural than such an explanation of this prediction. The Prophet expressly declares, that he, and the children God gave him, were *לֵאוֹתוֹת* *leototh*, for *signs* and *wonders* in Israel, ch. viii. 18.; and this Hebrew word is used by this very Prophet, as signifying that the circumstances attending him were similar to those that should happen, in after time, to them of whom he prophesied: such was his walking naked and barefoot, for a *sign* and a *wonder* upon Egypt and Æthiopia, ch. xx. 3.

I have dwelt the longer on this subject, because it seems to me not to have been so happily explained as could be wished.

OBSERVATION LXXXIII.

Camels constitute a Part of the Riches of great Men in the East.

JOB might well be styled the greatest man in the land of Uz, or of all that part of the East,* when he was possessed of almost half as many camels, as a modern king of Persia.

An anecdote, mentioned by Sir J. Chardin in his MS. affords a happy illustration of what is said of the riches of Job, who, we are told, was master of three thousand camels. “The king of Persia being in Mazanderan, in the year 76,† the Tartars set upon the camels of the king in the month of February, and took three thousand of them, which was a great loss to him; for he has but seven thousand in all, if their number should be complete; especially considering it was winter, when it was difficult to procure others in a country which was a stranger to commerce; and their importance, these beasts carrying all the baggage, for which reason they are called the ships of Persia. Upon these accounts the king presently retired.”

Many an European Reader is not well apprized of the value of three thousand camels; but there are few that are totally unacquainted with the riches and the pomp of Eastern princes, and the great figure the Sophi of Persia make among them. To such Readers the preceding account will not be un-instructive.

* Job i. 3.

† 1676 is the year meant.

OBSERVATION LXXXIV.

Usefulness of Camels' Hair in the East.

CAMELS are not only of great importance in the East, for carrying of goods through the deserts, and as furnishing no despicable part of food to some nations by their milk and their flesh ; but their hair is useful for vestments.

This hair, Sir J. Chardin tells us,* is not shorn from the camels like wool from sheep, but they pull off this woolly hair, which the camels are disposed in a sort to cast off ; as many other creatures, it is well known, change their coats yearly.

This hair is made into cloth now. Chardin assures us the modern dervishes wear such garments, as they do also great leather-girdles, and sometimes feed on locusts. This will serve to illustrate the account of John the Baptist ; see Matt. iii. 4.

OBSERVATION LXXXV.

Medicines used externally in the East.

MEDICINES in the East are chiefly applied externally, and in particular to the stomach and belly. Might not Solomon allude to similar managements

* In his MS. note on 1 Sam. xxv. 4.

in his time, when he says, concerning the fear of the LORD, *It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones*, Prov. iii. 8.?

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. assures us of the fact, and applies it to the illustration of this passage. "It is a comparison (he tells us) drawn from the plaisters, ointments, oils, frictions, which are made use of in the East upon the belly and stomach in most maladies; they being ignorant in the villages of the art of making decoctions and potions, and the proper doses of such things, generally make use of external medicines."

Until I met with this observation, I did not see, I confess, any particular propriety in that clause of the royal Preacher.

OBSERVATION LXXXVI.

Repositories for Beds in the East.

THE bed-chamber in the Temple, in which Jehosheba hid Joash in the days of Athaliah, mentioned 2 Kings vi. 2., and 2 Chron xxii. 11., does not seem to mean a *lodging-chamber*, but a *chamber* used as a *repository for beds*.

I am indebted to Sir John Chardin's MS. for this thought, which seems to be a just one; for the original words בחדר המטות *bachadar hammittoth*, signify a *chamber of beds*; and the expression differs from that which is used when a lodging chamber is meant. He supposes then that place is meant,

where beds are kept: for in the East, and particularly in Persia and Turkey, beds are not raised from the ground with bed-posts, a canopy, and curtains; people lie on the ground. In the evening they spread out a mattrass or two of cotton, very light, &c. Of these they have several laid up in great houses, until they may have occasion to use them, and have a room on purpose for them.

In a chamber of beds, (the room used for the laying up beds,) it seems Joash was secreted. Understand it how you will, it appears that people were lodged in the Temple; and if any lodged there, it is to be supposed at particular times there were many, especially the relations and friends of the High-priest. Here it may be right to consult Neh. xiii. 4, 5. In the room in which the beds were deposited, not a common bed-chamber, it seems the young prince lay concealed. Chardin complains the Vulgar Latin translation did not rightly understand the story; nor have others represented the intention of the Sacred Writer perfectly, if he is to be understood after this manner.

OBSERVATION LXXXVII.

Some Factitious Metals of great Value in the East.

PRECIOUS as gold is, there have been compositions, that have been as highly esteemed.

Ezra viii. 27. affords us a proof of this:—

Twenty basins of gold, of a thousand drachms ; and two vessels of fine copper, (or of yellow or shining brass, according to the margin,) precious as gold.

The Corinthian brass has been mentioned on this occasion, which is said to have been more esteemed than silver among the Romans. But as the metal mentioned by Ezra seems to have been more valuable still ; so this Corinthian brass was unknown in those times, being a composition formed, accidentally, by the burning of Corinth, not one hundred and fifty years before the birth of our LORD, and supposed to consist of a mixture of gold, silver, and brass.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note, has mentioned a mixed metal used in the East, and highly esteemed there ; and as the origin of this composition is unknown, it might, for aught we know, be as old as the time of Ezra, and be brought from those more remote countries into Persia, where these two basins were given to be conveyed to Jerusalem.

“ I have heard,” says the note, “ some Dutch gentlemen speak of a metal in the island of Sumatra, and among the Macassars, much more esteemed than gold, which royal personages alone might wear. It is a mixture, if I remember right, of gold and steel, or of copper and steel.” He afterwards added to this note, (for the colour of the ink differs,) “ calmbac is this metal, composed of gold and copper. It in colour nearly resembles the pale carnation-rose, has a very fine grain, the polish extremely lively. I have seen something

of it, &c. Gold is not of so lively and brilliant a colour ; I believe there is steel mixed with the gold and the copper.”

He seems to be in doubt about the composition ; but very positive as to its beauty, and its high estimation.”

OBSERVATION LXXXVIII.

Of the two Mules' Burthen of Earth, which Naaman requested from the Prophet Elisha.

WHEN Naaman the Syrian requested two mules' burthen of earth, of the Holy Land, to be given him by the Prophet, it has been generally understood to have been for the raising up an altar to the God of Israel ; it is not, however impossible to have been for some other purpose, since modern Eastern devotion, for a particular place, has led them to desire some of its earth for another use.

The MS. of Sir J. Chardin treats the common notion as erroneous, perhaps a little too positively ; but it cannot be disagreeable to communicate his note upon 2 Kings v. 17. to the world, as it is curious and amusing, though numbers may be inclined still to retain the common opinion. Naaman desired this, he thinks, “ as sacred earth, taken from sacred places, to pray upon, as the Mohammedans do, having their beads made of earth, esteemed sacred by them, and who, in pray-

ing, bow themselves down upon a small quantity of the same earth.”*

It would not have been disagreeable if he had informed us how this earth is prepared, so as to make a lasting surface, on which to place themselves in prayer, or, on which they may place their foreheads, in prostrating themselves before God, as they are known to do : though, perhaps, after all, as Sir John says nothing about Naaman’s making *beads* of this earth, which machines of devotion are now very much used in the East, it may be thought as little certain that he desired the earth to pray upon.

OBSERVATION LXXXIX.

*Of the Manner in which the Easterns express
Resentment against any Person.*

It is a very odd custom in the East, that when they are angry with a person they abuse and vilify his *parents* ; yet, some traces of it seem to appear in Scripture.

Sir John Chardin assures us it is an Eastern custom, in his MS. note on 1 Sam. xx. 30., and that it obtains through all the East : if it be, his introducing the mention of it here is extremely proper, as it may save us from some false refinements that appear in our Western commentaries.

* *Un petit palet de même terre*, are his words.

Saul thought of nothing but venting his anger against Jonathan; nor had any design to reproach his wife personally: the mention of her was only a vehicle by which, according to Oriental modes, he was to convey his resentment against Jonathan into the minds of those about him. *Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman, do not I know, &c.*

OBSERVATION XC.

Their Method of dishonouring Places, which had been used for religious Purposes, &c.

THE dishonouring places which were treated with veneration by others, by making use of them for the most disgraceful discharges of animal nature, was an ancient Oriental way of expressing dislike, and it still continues to be used there.

Jehu thus treated the temple of Baal: "he made it a draught-house," 2 Kings x. 27. Every one will suppose what a draught-house means, especially if he recollects those words in St. Matthew, *Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?* ch. xv. 17.

Sir John Chardin observes somewhere in his MS. that the Eastern people are more exquisite in taking vengeance than those in the West. This seems to be a proof of it; we strike off the heads

of those images that have been superstitiously abused, set up in or about places of worship ; we have pulled down or defaced buildings that we detest ; the stone-coffin of a prince, whose memory was execrated, has been made use of for a watering trough for horses ; but I do not remember that any sacred place was, designedly among us, made what our version calls a *draught-house*. It has been retained, however, in the East ; and this MS. of his informs us, that Abbas the Great, king of Persia,* having conquered Bagdad, treated the tomb of Hanifah, one of the fathers of the church among the Turks, after a similar manner.

They that consider the great neatness of the Eastern tombs ; and the prayers that are poured out so frequently at the graves of their holy men, so that a tomb and an oratory are frequently much the same thing ; will think there is a greater likeness between the two stories than may appear at first sight.

OBSERVATION XCI.

Strange Custom observed in mourning for the Dead.

THERE is a note in the MS. I have so often cited, on a passage of the Apocrypha, which affords an

* Both Persians and Turks are Mohammedans, but of different sects ; and there are as mortal feuds on that account betwixt them, as there were anciently between the Jews and Samaritans.

exquisite comment on the surprise of David's servants, at his behaviour when his first child by Bathsheba died.*

The account Sir John gives us of Eastern mourning, in order to illustrate Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 17., is as follows. "The practice of the East is to leave a relation of the deceased person to weep and mourn, till, on the third or fourth day at farthest, the relations and friends go to see him, cause him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cause him to put on new vestments, he having before thrown himself on the ground, &c."

The surprise of David's servants then, who had seen his bitter anguish while the child was sick, arose apparently from this, that, when he found it was dead, he that so deeply lamented, arose of himself from the earth, without staying for his friends coming about him, and that presently ; immediately bathed and anointed himself instead of appearing as a mourner ; and, after worshipping God with solemnity, returned to his wonted repasts, without any interposition of others ; which as now, so perhaps anciently, was made use of in the East. The extremity of his sorrows for the child's illness, and his not observing the common forms of grief afterwards, was what surprised his servants.

Every eye must see the general ground of astonishment ; but this passage of Chardin gives great distinctness to our apprehensions of it.

* 2 Sam. xii. 16—21.

OBSERVATION XCII.

Remarks upon some Parts of Acts xxvii. relative to St. Paul's Voyage.

BISHOP POCOCKE, in his Travels, has explained very particularly the *rudder-bands*, mentioned by St. Luke, Acts xxvii. 40., and my plan excludes that account from these papers; but Sir John Chardin has mentioned some other things relating to this ship of St. Paul, which ought not to be omitted, since his MS. is not likely ever to be published.

First, The Eastern people, he tells us, “are wont to leave their skiffs in the sea, fastened to the stern of their vessels.” The skiff of this Egyptian ship was towed along after the same manner, v. 16., *We had much work to come by the boat.*

Secondly, They never, according to him, hoist it into the vessel; it always remains in the water, fastened to the ship. He therefore must suppose the *taking it up*, *ην αραντες*, mentioned ver. 17., does not mean hoisting it up into the vessel, as several interpreters have imagined, but drawing it up close to the stern of the ship; and the word *χαλασαντων*, which we translate, in the thirtieth verse, *letting down into the sea*, must mean letting it go farther from the ship into the sea.

Thirdly, He supposes this ship was like “a large modern Egyptian Saïque, of three hundred and twenty tons, and capable of carrying from twenty-four to thirty guns.”

Fourthly, These Saiques, he tells us, “ always carry their anchors at their stern, and never at their prow,” contrarily to our managements; the anchors of St. Paul’s ship were, in like manner, *cast out of the stern*, ver. 29.

Fifthly, They carry their anchors at some distance from the ship, “ by means of the skiff, in such a manner as always to have one anchor on one side, and the other on the other side, so that the vessel may be between them, lest the cables should be entangled with each other.” To St. Paul’s ship there were four anchors, two on each side.

All these several particulars are contained, though not distinctly proposed, in his remarks on the vessel in which St. Paul was shipwrecked: the curious will probably consider them. If the mode of navigating Eastern ships had been attended to, it is possible the jocular and lively remarks of some indevout sailors, bordering on profaneness, would never have been made upon this part of the narration of St. Luke; and some clauses would have been differently translated from what we find them in our version.

OBSERVATION XCIII.

Of the Effects of Circumcision.

THE accounts that have been given by some that have lived in the East, concerning the effects of circumcision, do not well agree with the explanations,

divers of the learned have proposed, of some passages of the Old Testament history.

The children of Israel, after forty years' wandering in the wilderness, passed over Jordan, into the land promised their ancestors, on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, as we are told, Josh. iv. 19. They were circumcised in Gilgal, ch. v. 9.; and in that same encampment, it should seem, they kept the Passover, ver. 10. The supposition of Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on Joshua, is, that they crossed the Jordan on the tenth of the first month, were circumcised the eleventh, were at the worst the thirteenth, and capable of observing the Passover, in all its ceremonies, on the fourteenth.

The accounts of Eastern travellers shew, that there is too much precipitation here. "I have heard," says Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume,* "from divers renegadoes in the East, who had been circumcised, some at thirty, some at forty years of age, that the circumcision had occasioned them a great deal of pain, and that they were obliged to keep their bed upon it at least twenty or twenty-two days;† that they put nothing on the wound to make it cicatrize but burnt paper. They refer the little pain that, it is remarked, this operation gives infants, to the softness of the prepuce; whereas, in grown-up people this skin is very tough, and very sensible, because of the arteries and veins there."

* On Gen. xxxiv. 25.

† And that, during that time, they could not walk without feeling very severe pain.

Without making any anatomical remarks here, the fact, I presume, is sufficiently authenticated, that it is about three weeks after people of thirty or forty years have been circumcised, before they can, with tolerable ease, walk about ; and, consequently, that the Passover cannot be imagined to have been solemnized on the fourth day after this circumcision. Bishop Patrick himself, in his comment on Josh. v. 8. supposes, that the pain was smartest on the third day : for which he cites Gen. xxxiv. 25. ; and yet that the people were whole against the fourth day, which was the Passover. This is not a little extraordinary : that the Bishop should suppose that the pain of an operation, which was such as rendered them incapable to fight for their lives on the third day after, should, on the fourth, be so perfectly over, as to enable them, without any considerable inconvenience, to celebrate the Passover ; for if the inconvenience had been considerable, it might, by an express constitution of their lawgiver, have been deferred till the fourteenth day of the second month, Numb. ix. 10, 11. This appears, on the face of it, to be very strange ; but it is absolutely incompatible with Sir J. Chardin's account, received from several renegadoes.

The Bishop certainly was misled here, by the speedy healing of this kind of wound in infants, which, I have been assured by some of the Jewish nation, is in a very little time ; perhaps two or three days was the precise expression. It is otherwise with the adult ; nor does Gen. xxxiv. 35, shew that the pain was most intense on the third day, but only sufficiently severe, by that time.

But how then are the circumstances of this history to be ranged? I should suppose it must be in one of these two ways: either, that the circumcision was not performed till after the Passover was celebrated, which indeed was not agreeable to the law, Exod. xii. 48.; or else, that the Passover was not solemnized till the fourteenth day of the second month, which their law allowed, in that passage of Numb. ix. I just now cited.

Things might, very possibly, be conducted after the first manner: for the omission of circumcision, while they were in the wilderness, shews they were not very exact, at that time, in their observation of the ceremonies of their law. Nothing also forbids our understanding the fourteenth day, of that day of the second month. But I leave to the curious the determination of the point.

OBSERVATION XCIV.

Of the Ornaments put on Rebecca by Abraham's Servant.

THE weight of the ornaments that the servant of Abraham put upon Rebecca appears to us rather extraordinary. Sir J. Chardin assures us as heavy, and even heavier, were worn by the women of the East when he was there.

The ear-ring, or jewel for the face, weighed half a shekel, and the bracelets for her hands ten shekels, Gen. xxiv. 22., which, as he justly observes in the margin of the MS. is about five ounces. Upon which he tells us, “ the women

wear rings and bracelets of as great weight as this, through all Asia, and even much heavier. They are rather manacles than bracelets. There are some as large as the finger. The women wear several of them, one above the other, in such a manner as sometimes to have the arm covered with them from the wrist to the elbow. Poor people wear as many of glass or horn. They hardly ever take them off: they are their riches."

OBSERVATION XCV.

Many Surnames in Use among the Orientals.

THE Eastern people are oftentimes known by several names: this might arise from their having more names than one given them at first; or it might arise from their assuming a new and different name upon particular occurrences in life. This last is most probable, since such a custom continues in the East to this day; and it evidently was sometimes done anciently, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. 2 Kings xxxiv. 17.

The sixth volume of the MS. C. seems to complain of expositors, for supposing one person had frequently different names; and says, that the custom of the East still continues for persons to have a new name upon change of circumstances. There seems to me to be some want of precision here: commentators have supposed, and the fact is apparent, that one and the same person has had different names; but they have determined, in com-

mon at least, nothing about the manner how they came by them. Sir John thinks, very justly, that they were wont to be given upon some change of life; but then there might be a variation as to the consequences. Some might invariably be called by the new name after its being put upon them: thus, I think, Abraham was always so called in the latter part of his life, and never Abram; and his wife, in like manner, Sarah, and not Sarai; others might be called sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other, and sometimes by both joined together. So St. John tells us, in his gospel, that JESUS gave the new name of Peter to the brother of Andrew, ch. i. 42.: yet he represents JESUS as afterwards calling him Simon, ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17; and John himself called him sometimes Peter, and sometimes Simom Peter, and that, just together, ch. xviii. 10, 11.

But as the account that is given us of this variety of names in the MS. is curious, I would set down the substance of it. “ Expositors suppose the Israelites, and other Eastern people, had several names; but this is an error: the reason of their being called by different names is because they frequently change them, as they change in point of age, condition, or religion. This custom has continued to our times in the East, and is generally practised upon changing religions;* and it is pretty common upon changing condition. The Persians have preserved this custom more than any other nation. I have seen many governors of provinces

* Acts xiii. 9.

among them assume new names with their new dignity. But the example of the reigning* king of Persia is more remarkable: the first years of the reign of this prince having been unhappy, on account of wars and famine in many provinces, his counsellors persuaded him that the name he had until then borne was fatal, and that the fortune of the empire would not be changed until he changed that name. This was done: the prince was crowned again, under the name of Soliman: all the seals, all the coins, that had the name of Sefi were broken, the same as if the king had been dead, and another had taken possession.—The women more frequently change their names than the men, whether owing to a natural inconstancy, or that they do not agree to the alterations they find in life, being put upon them on account of their beauty, gaiety, their agility in dancing, or fine voice: and as these natural qualities are quickly lost, either by accident, or by age, they assume other names, which better agree to their changed state. Women that marry again, or let themselves out anew, and slaves, commonly alter their names upon these changes.”

OBSERVATION XCVI.

Women in the East suffer little in Parturition.

THE mercy of God towards Israel in Egypt, and His care of their preservation there, were certainly

* He began his reign, I think, in 1667, and died in 1694.

very extraordinary; but most probably there was nothing uncommon in what happened to the Israelitish women, when Pharaoh directed the midwives to destroy their male infants in the birth.

Easy and quick deliveries were common before that time among them; or there would have been more than two midwives made use of by the Israelitish women. On the other hand, these speedy deliveries were then not universal: if they had, there would have been no great virtue in Shiprah and Puah's telling Pharaoh the undisguised state of things among them: they certainly told Pharaoh what was true, as to many of them; but they concealed some part of the truth from that cruel prince.

Rachael, and the daughter-in-law of Eli the high-priest, are proofs that travail in the East is sometimes extremely bitter, and is sometimes fatal,* in the common course of things; but a facility in introducing children into the world is more common, perhaps, among them, than among us. Bishop Patrick, in his Commentaries, mentions Varro's account of the women of Illyricum, and Gataker's relation of what has some times been known in Ireland. This might have been enlarged by citations from writers that have described the manners, &c. of the Indians of North America; but it must be infinitely more amusing, to be told what happens now in the East itself. This is done by Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume, in such a manner as would make an omission of it very inexcusable.

* Gen. xxxv. 16. 1 Sam. iv. 19, 20.

After having observed that what is said of the Hebrew women, in *Exod. i. 19.*, ought not to give any mind pain, he adds, “ since in Europe, where the people are robust, as in Switzerland and the North, it frequently happens that women bring their fruit into the world without much pain, and without assistance ; I will only say there are many large countries in Asia where there are no professed midwives at all, and that where there are, they are not very much known, the mothers delivering their daughters, and, for want of them, the relations or neighbours perform the office. I have known a woman in Caramania brought to bed, without help, in the open fields ;* and was quite surprised to see her arrive, not long after me, at the place where we lodged. The people of the village laughed at my surprise, and told me this happened frequently in their country. It is said that, in Arabia, it often happens among the clans of shepherds that pass from one side of the Tigris to the other, and who cross over on vessels of leather blown up, † that their women fall into labour just as they should cross over, which, however, does not hinder their passage ; the woman is in a moment delivered of the child, washes it in the river, wraps it up in some rags, places it on her leather-vessel, and passes over with more ease than she could have done had she continued big with child.

* Three leagues, he says in the margin, from the village whither he was going.

† Consul Drummond describes these in his *Travels*, p. 207, 208, and calls them Lowders.

The apology of these midwives then was sufficiently plausible; and in many instances, without doubt, very just. Great was the difference between the Israelites, used to hardships, and the delicate Egyptians, with respect to the employing people of their profession.

OBSERVATION XCVII.

Of the Posture of Devotion practised by some in the East.

SIR J. CHARDIN confirms Dr. Shaw's account of the devout posture of some people of the Levant, which resembles that made use of by Elijah just before the descent of the rain, 1 Kings xxviii. 42.

Dr. Shaw's account may be found by turning to his two hundred and thirty-third page. That of the MS. C. is as follows: "The dervishes, especially those of the Indies, put themselves into this posture," (he is speaking of the attitude of Elijah on the top of Mount Carmel,) "in order to meditate, and also to repose themselves. They tie their knees against their belly with their girdle, and lay their heads on the top; and this, according to them, is the best posture for recollecting themselves."

As so celebrated an interpreter as Bishop Patrick has given a very different description of the attitude of Elijah, in his Commentary on the book of Kings, I thought this confirmation of Dr. Shaw's account would not be improper.

OBSERVATION XCVIII.

Of the Manner in which the Dervishes and Fakeers are clothed.

As the common customs of the East have been handed down to these late ages very little altered, Sir J. Chardin is of opinion, that the same holds true as to other usages, and particularly with respect to the exterior appearance of persons of extraordinary reputed sanctity.

The observation he has made,* relating to the resemblance between the modern Eastern dervishes and fakeers† and the ancient Jewish Prophets, both those that were true and those that falsely assumed that character, are considerably striking.

These modern Eastern Religious, he tells us, go clothed just as Elijah did, who is called a hairy man, 2 Kings i. 8., on account of his wearing a hairy garment, and was girded with a leather girdle. In other places Prophets are described as wearing a rough garment, or garment of hair.‡ Sir John repeats the same in making remarks on the vestment of John the Baptist.

* In a MS. note on 2 Kings i. 8.

† The Dervishes are a sort of Friars, who wander about the parts of Asia nearest to us, and are supposed to lead a life of more than ordinary sanctity and austerity. Much the same kind of people, that live in the more distant parts of Asia, are called Fakeers.

‡ Zech. xiii. 4.

The dervishes, he gives us to understand, carry about with them the horn of a he-goat, or of a wild ox. They wear it as a kind of defence,* though some others carry hatchets with them; and he supposes Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah,† who had made him horns of iron, had them made as part of his equipage. It is not so understood, I think, in general; but it is rather supposed that they were made by this false Prophet, on purpose to exhibit a fallacious sign to Ahab, of his pushing Syria until it was destroyed. Its being, however, at present a part of the equipage of a dervish, may incline one to believe it was an instrument Zedekiah had worn before, and only applied it to this use at that time.

The dervishes, he tells us, go bareheaded; and he thinks, from what is said of Elisha, 2 Kings ii. 23., the Prophets must have practised the same. On which I would farther observe, that if the Prophets distinguished themselves from other people in those times, as the dervishes do now, these young people were not only guilty of not honouring old age, as the law required, Lev. xix. 22, but of knowingly and intentionally insulting a Prophet of God.

These are correspondencies that engage attention.

* They make use of them also for another purpose—that of proclaiming the generosity of those that give them alms.

† 2 Chron. xviii. 10.

OBSERVATION XCIX.

*Extreme Detestation expressed in the East, by
spitting on the Ground.*

THE association between *spitting* and *shame* is such now in the East, that we in common have no conception of ; though some acquaintance with their views of things seems to be highly requisite, to understand some passages of Sacred Antiquity.

Monsieur d'Arvieux tells us, " the Arabs are sometimes disposed to think, that when a person spits, it is done out of contempt ; and that they never do it before their superiors."* But Sir J. Chardin's MS. goes much farther : he tells us, in a note on Numb. xii. 14., that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the East, an expression of extreme detestation.

Here are two things to be remarked : one, that though spitting is in common a thing totally indifferent among us, with respect to expressing dislike, it is otherwise in those countries, where they seldom or never spit as a natural discharge ; but when they do spit, it marks out detestation, and extreme detestation ; the other, that, in expressing their detestation of a person, they do not spit upon him, but upon the ground before him.

This gives a much stronger idea to this action, than multitudes have apprehended. Every one

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 140.

that has read the Old Testament with care must be sensible it was a reproachful thing: but, perhaps, we have wondered that it should be prescribed by law as a disgrace, which yet we know it was among the Jews, Deut. xxv. 9.; and we have been astonished that a father's dishonouring a daughter by spitting, should be thought to be so disgraceful, as to engage her to retire from public view no fewer than seven days, Numb. xii. 14.: this accounts for both—it expresses extreme detestation.

A second thing is, that spitting upon the ground before a person's face is sufficient to disgrace very bitterly now, and therefore, most probably, was all that the Mosaic law required, in the twenty-fifth of Deuteronomy. The prefix ב *beth* is very seldom applied to the Hebrew word פני *penee*, which signifies *face*; but when it is, it appears to signify *before a person's face*, as well as *upon the face*;* and since it may be understood in this sense; and since it is thought in the East to be enough to express bitter detestation; it appears to be right to understand that law after this manner.

Whether the vehemence of the Jews might not carry them farther, with respect to our LORD, is another consideration.

Niebuhr, I have lately found, gives just the same account, p. 26.; the association then between *spitting* and *shame* may be considered as a most sure fact.

* Ezek. xlii. 12. Josh. xxi. 44. ch. xxiii. 9. and Esther ix. 2. sufficiently prove the point.

OBSERVATION C.

Congratulations usual on the Birth of a Male Child.

IT is the custom in Persia to announce to the father the birth of his male children with particular ceremonies, of which some account ought to be given.

This is a note Sir J. Chardin has on Jer. xx. 15. ; but unluckily no account of these ceremonies is to be found, that I know of, in those papers. Something of this kind, however, obtained among the Jews : the congratulation would otherwise have been supposed to have been conveyed to the father of Jeremiah, by some female assistant at the birth ; whereas it is supposed to have been conveyed, on the contrary, by one of the other sex—*Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A man-child is born unto thee.*

OBSERVATION CI.

Manner of reckoning Shekels.

EZEKIEL'S* manner of reckoning the number of shekels in a maneh, which, it seems, were three-

* Ch. xlv. 12.—

score, appears very strange to us ; but, according to the MS. C., was perfectly in the Oriental taste.

The words of Ezekiel are, *The shekel shall be twenty gerahs: twenty shekels, twenty-five shekels, fifteen shekels, shall be your maneh.* Some of the learned have supposed, there were three different coins of the three several values which the Prophet mentions, and one of each put together should make a maneh. But if there actually were such coins, it does not appear why the Prophet should describe a maneh after this manner: it seems to us that it would have been infinitely more simple to have said, “The shekel shall be twenty gerahs, and your maneh threescore shekels.”

But this MS. informs us, that it is the custom of the East, in their accompts and their reckonings of a sum of money, to specify the different parts of which it is composed: talking after this manner, I owe twenty-five—of which the half is twelve and one half, the quarter six and one-fourth, &c. This appears extremely odd to us ; but if it was the custom of those countries, it is no wonder Ezekiel reckoned after this manner.

OBSERVATION CII.

Strange Custom observed in contracting for Wives in the East.

SIR J. Chardin observed in the East, that in their contracts for their temporary wives, (which are known to be frequent there, which contracts

are made before the Kady) there is always the formality of a measure of corn mentioned, over and above the sum of money that is stipulated.

I do not know of any thing that should occasion this formality of late days in the East ; it may possibly be very ancient, as it is apparent this sort of wife is : if it be, it will perhaps account for Hosea's purchasing a woman of this sort for fifteen pieces of silver, and a certain quantity of barley, ch. iii. 2.

OBSERVATION CIII.

Of the Oriental Bow-Cases.

THE Oriental bows, according to this writer,* are wont to be carried, in a case, hung to their girdles ; which case is sometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather.

For want of being sufficiently aware of this, some commentators have expressed themselves in a very obscure manner, when they have been led to speak of a passage of the Prophet Habakkuk, which plainly supposes this management : *Thy bow was made quite naked*, ch. iii. 9.

* MS. note on Habak. iii. 9.

OBSERVATION CIV.

Particular Times observed for going Journies.

PETER della Vallè assures us, it is now customary in these countries to begin their journies at the new moon :* may not this, like many other usages, be a remain of antiquity ?

Our marginal translation of Prov. vii. 20. agrees with this supposition : “ The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey ; he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the new moon.” The word doubtless signifies, in general, *an appointed time* ; but it might mean, in particular, that of the new moon. So Aquila translates the passage, who is noted for his strict adhering to the precise meaning of the words of the Hebrew original.

So when the Shunamite proposed going to Elisha, her husband dissuaded her, by observing, it was neither new moon nor sabbath, 2 Kings iv. 23. : neither a usual time for taking secular journies, the words may mean, nor sacred. It is certain, the word sabbath signifies any Jewish sacred time, on the one hand ; and on the other, that the new moons no where, in the Scriptures, appear to have been times peculiarly made use of for religious instruction, or private devotion.

The original word חדש *chodesh* in common sig-

* Travels into East India and Arabia Deserta, p. 258.

nifies a *throne*, it being only used twice* to signify the time of the new moon, or some appointed time ; but the lexicographers, that I have consulted, do not shew how a throne and the new moon are connected together. May I be permitted to propose it to the learned, to consider whether 1 Sam. xx. 24, 25., does not explain it? It appears there that new moons were observed as festivals in the Jewish court ; that the king, in eating, then sat on a seat, a throne, I presume, (a seat high and lifted up,) on which his sons and great men were wont to sit in solemnity with him. Now if the king did not sit in common on such a seat, such a management would make the considering the new moon and a throne as correlative things, very natural.

OBSERVATION CV.

People in the East frequently cut their Arms for Purposes of Love and Devotion.

IF the cutting the flesh anciently, as expressive of grief, was conducted after the same manner as now, they were the arms that suffered chiefly, if not wholly ; and the cruelties of the people that were beloved, as well as those of enemies, occasioned these gashes.

‘ We find Arabs,’ la Roque tells us from d’Ar-

* Here, and Psa. lxxxix. 3.

vieux, ' who have their arms scarred by the gashes of a knife, which they sometimes give themselves, to mark out to their mistresses what their rigour, and the violence of love, make them suffer. We content ourselves with singing, I die, I languish, &c. ; those good folks are more pathetic than we,' &c.

We often read of people cutting themselves, in Holy Writ, when in great anguish ; but we are not commonly told what part they wounded. The modern Arabs, it seems, gash their arms, which with them are often bare : it appears, from a passage of Jeremiah, the ancients wounded themselves in the same part. *Every head shall be bald, and every beard clipt : upon all hands shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth*, Chap. xlvi. 37.

The cuttings of the Old Testament, generally at least, refer to more respected and pitied calamities. Besides the passage just now cited, the Reader may turn to Jeremiah, xvi. 6. chap. xli. 5. and chap. xlvi. 5. The lunatic of the New Testament,* perhaps, who cut himself, might possibly do it from the same principle with the modern Arabs ; if not, the customariness of cutting themselves, in times of anguish, might occasion a management not so common among the lunatics of our times.

The attempt of the priests of Baal† to move the commiseration of that Sidonian idol, by the same method the modern Arabs make use of to

* Mark v. 5.

† 1 Kings xviii. 28.

move the compassion of their hard-hearted mistresses, is truly laughable. And if the intention of Moses, in forbidding the Israelites to make such cuttings in their flesh, Deut. xiv. 1., was to prevent such unworthy notions of the Deity he taught them to serve, the word *dead* in that text must be understood to signify *dead idols*; nor will the Jewish custom, referred to, Jer. xvi. 6., appear to be a contravening that law.

OBSERVATION CVI.

Of the Employment of the Eastern Soldiers in Time of Peace.

THE Eastern Soldiers, in times of peace, are disposed of about the walls of places, and particularly in the towers and at the gates: it seems to have been so anciently.

Niebuhr tells us,* that the foot-soldiers of the Iman of Yemen have very little to do in times of peace, any more than the cavalry: some of them mount guard at the Dola's;† they are also employed at the gates, and upon the towers.

The towers, in some of the Eastern cities, were made use of for the lodging of their soldiers; they were their barracks: so Egmont and Heyman tell us, that there are sixty or seventy towers in the

* P. 186, 187.

† The title of the governors of the districts of Yemen, or the Happy Arabia.

outward wall of Alexandria ; that they had in general three stories, and each several apartments, which, in his opinion, would hold some hundreds of soldiers for the defence of each, Vol. II. p. 121.

A very ingenious commentator* seems to be a little mistaken, when, explaining Ezek. xxvii. 11., *The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadim were in thy towers ; they hanged their shields upon the walls round about : they have made thy beauty perfect :* he says, *they defended thy walls when they were assaulted by the king of Babylon's army.* Ezekiel is describing a time of peace and freedom of commerce, not of war ; and Niebuhr gives us to understand, the walls are the places where the present Arab foot-soldiers appear in time of peace. Their hanging their arms on the walls round about, shews it was such a time.†

This last circumstance may be illustrated too, by the account that Sandys gives of the decorations of one of the gates of the imperial seraglio in Constantinople, which, he tells us, is “hung with shields and scimitars,” p. 25. Through this gate people pass to the divan, where justice is administered ; and these are the ornaments of this public

* Mr. Lowth.

† Perhaps it even expresses festivity and triumph : so Father Vansleb describes an Eastern Ziné, or public rejoicing, as celebrated by the hanging out lamps and tapestry ; to which he adds, that the Beys cause to be suspended, at the entrance of their palaces, a quantity of beautiful arms, as head-pieces, coats of mail, musquets, sabres, targets, &c. *Relation d'Egypte*, p. 335, 336.

passage. The inner walks of the gates and towers of Tyre were ornamented, probably after the same manner.

Who the Gammadim of this verse were, I shall leave to the future examination of the learned: I would only take the liberty to observe, that the notion of one writer of eminence, that they were *pigmies*, and that of another that they were the tutelar deities of Tyre, of the height of a cubit, seem to be not a little idle. Dwarfs have been in considerable vogue in former times, in the courts of princes, but as buffoons, not as guards; and though some modern antiquarians may have spoken of idolatrous images as the beauty of some ancient cities, I cannot believe that a Jewish prophet would be so complaisant.

OBSERVATION CVII.

Of the Blue-coloured Garments used in the East.

THE being clothed in blue was, in the days of the Prophet Ezekiel, considered as a rich dress; at present, the most ordinary Eastern people are dressed in blue: this contrariety deserves some attention.

That it is now the common dress of the ordinary Eastern women, appears from many writers. Niebuhr, one of the latest of them, tells us,* that

* Page 57.

“ the whole of the dress of a woman of common rank” (in Arabia he means) “ consists of drawers, and a very large shift ; the one and the other is of blue linen, wrought by a needle with some ornaments of a different colour.” Thevenot describes the shirts worn by the Arabs, between Egypt and Mount Sinai, as blue : “ these people, who are very numerous, live in the deserts, where, (though they lead a most wretched life,) yet they think themselves most happy. Their clothing is a long blue shirt, &c.”*

The Prophet Ezekiel, on the other hand, supposes blue to be a rich and beautiful dress ; *She doated on her lovers, on the Assyrians her neighbours, which were clothed with blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men,* Ezek. xxiii. 6. ; and he mentions blue clothes, among other rich merchandise, chap. xxvii. 24. I do not mention the seventh verse of that chapter, because I am in doubt whether the blue and the purple there refer to the clothing of the Tyrians ; they may, perhaps, relate to their shipping : either the colours with which they were painted ; or the awnings they placed over them, agreeable to the account that is given us of the covering of Solomon’s chariot, Cant. iii. 10.

The contrast in this article is very sensible ; blue linen, now worn by the most ordinary people ; anciently the most rich clothing. I can account for it no otherwise than by supposing, that the art of dyeing blues was first found out in countries

* P. 173. Part I.

more to the East or South than Tyre; and that the dye was by no means become common, so low down as the time of Ezekiel: though, some that were employed in the construction of the Tabernacle, seem to have possessed the art of dyeing with blue, *Exod. xxxv. 35.*; and some of the Tyrians, in the time of Solomon, *2 Chron. ii. 7, 14.* Remote countries were the places where these blue clothes were manufactured; and to them, who wore scarcely any thing but woollens and linens of the natural colour, these blue calicoes formed very magnificent vestments.

Niebuhr mentions* two places in Arabia, in which indigo is now cultivated and prepared. Whether it grew there anciently, or in what other places, may not be easy at this time to determine.†

* P. 197, 198.; see also p. 133.

† The *blue* used in these ancient times was widely different from that used in the present day: the *former* was that extremely costly dye got from the *murex*, a species of shell-fish particularly described by Pliny, *Hist. Nat. Lib. ix. cap. 36.*; the *latter*, that cheap and imperfect colour produced by the application of *indigo*. But on this subject I beg leave to insert the following extract from Bruce's *Travels*, Vol. I. *Introduct.* p. lxiii.—“Passing by Tyre from curiosity only, I came to be a mournful witness of the truth of that prophecy, ‘that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishers to dry their nets on.’ *Ezek. xxvi. 5.* Two wretched fishermen, with miserable nets, having just given over their occupation, with very little success, I engaged them, at the expence of their nets, to drag in those places where they said shell-fish might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous *purple* fish. I did not succeed; but in this I was, I believe, as lucky as the old fishers had ever been. The purple fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of

OBSERVATION CVIII.

Of the Nature of the ancient Tyrian Commerce.

THE very ingenious Editor of the Ruins of Palmyra supposes,* that it was the East Indian trade that so enriched that city ; and he supposes that this was as ancient at least as the time of Solomon ; if it was, Tyre, one would imagine, must have had those commodities conveyed to it in the time of Ezekiel : perhaps, then, that Prophet's account of the Tyrian Commerce, given us in the twenty-seventh chapter of his book of prophecies, may nearly let us into the extent of that traffic in his time whether carried on through Syria, ver. 16., that is, by way of Palmyra, or through Arabia.

Butz, translated in our version *fine linen*, and which, I have elsewhere shewn, probably means calicoes or muslins ; *broidered work*, the original word for which may mean chintses, perhaps, and other figured works,† as well as proper needle-work ;‡ and three sorts of precious stones ; are

cochineal, as, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year.”—EDIT.

* P. 18, 19. † Possibly even Porcelain and Japan-work.

‡ Of which there are two kinds : the one tracing out figures, by plain white stitches, common at this time in the East ; the other delineating flowers and leaves with various colours, (commonly understood by the term embroidery,) of which frequent

all the Prophet mentions as coming by way of Syria, or Palmyra. I say all, for I think the word *purple* belongs to that precious stone which our translators have rendered *emeralds*, and does not mean a distinct commodity: since all the other terms have the copulative particle prefixed to them, and the same should have been done to the word *purple*, had it meant a distinct thing: the intention of the Prophet seems then to have been to say, "Syria was thy merchant—they occupied in thy fairs *בנפך ארגמן* *benophek argaman*, with the *purple nophec* and brodered work," &c. Whether the word *purple* means the colour so denominated, or whether it means only bright or resplendent, it seems to be the descriptive epithet of the *nophec* brought to Tyre by the way of Syria.

Other East Indian goods may be included in the lists mentioned, ver. 22, 24, as brought to Tyre by other merchants: but it is not of any great consequence, I apprehend, to determine the several countries from whence they were originally brought, whether the East Indies, Æthiopia, or Arabia; it is sufficient to take notice, that the 16th verse seems to give us an account of what were then the chief articles of the Palmyra trade.

Whether the commodities Tyre obtained from Syria means those that came by way of Palmyra, or not, we may be pretty certain some of them, at least, were not the natural product of Syria, but

specimens are now imported among us from the East Indies, some of them extremely curious.

came from more distant places ; since Dr. Russell tells us,* there are no *metals* found in all Syria, so far as he knew of ; and then mentions a few *garments*, but of an inferior quality, found near Antioch, but no other gems.†

OBSERVATION CIX.

Of the Carpets used in the East.

THE *precious clothes for chariots*, which was the merchandize Dedan brought to Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. 20, I should think mean carpets.

I have elsewhere shewn, that litters and counes are the vehicles which the Scriptures seem to mean, when they speak of chariots, excepting those that were used in war ; and one cannot easily imagine any manufacture more proper to sit or lie upon, in these chariots, than thick and soft carpets.

Whether the term בגדי חפש *bigdee chophesh*, that is here made use of, and which the marginal translation tells us signifies *clothes of freedom*, may prove that carpets began at this time to be sat upon by persons of distinction, while slaves cannot be supposed to have such conveniences, deserves consideration.

Be these things as they may, carpets are now exported, according to Niebuhr, from that part of Arabia called Hadramaut, to that part called Ye-

* Vol. I. p. 54.

† Whereas Ezekiel speaks of three different kinds of precious stones brought from Syria to Tyre.

men, and might very well be brought by their caravans to Tyre in the days of antiquity.

OBSERVATION CX.

Public Assemblies of the Arabs for Purposes of Entertainment.

NUMBERS of the Southern Arabs assemble in their markets by way of amusement, and, consequently, for conversation: the same custom appears anciently to have obtained, in places of the East, less remote from us than Yemen.

“ Notwithstanding this external gravity,” says Niebuhr,* “ the Arabs love a great deal of company: accordingly, one sees them assiduously assembling in the public coffee-houses; and, above all, running to fairs, in which no country, perhaps, more abounds than Yemen; since there is scarcely a village of any consideration to be found, which has not a weekly fair. When the villages are at some distance from each other, their inhabitants assemble on the appointed day in the open fields. Some come hither to buy or to sell; others, who are mechanics of various professions, employ sometimes the whole week in going from one little borough to another, in order to work at these fairs; and, finally, many propose to themselves to pass away the time there more agreeably than at home. From this state of the Arabs for society,

* P. 25.

and especially of those of Yemen, it is easy to infer that they are more civilized than it may be imagined."

Michaelis, the great promoter of Niebuhr's expedition into the East, has taken notice of this passage in his extract from this work,* saying, "The public places are, to this day, in Yemen, the places of diversion, and thus serve two uses; (just as the gates of cities, which anciently were made their public places, as we are told in the Bible, Gen. xix. 1. Job xxix. 7. Psal. lxxix. 14. &c.)"

This remark is very short, and indeed obscure. It is universally known that the *gates* were anciently the places where they held their courts of judicature; but places of judicature, and markets or fairs, are very different things. The places this learned author has cited from the Bible have been understood, and, I think, commonly, to relate to magistrates sitting in the gates. That in Job certainly refers to his acting as a judge among his countrymen; the twelfth, sixteenth, and seventeenth verses indubitably prove it. Bishop Patrick gave a like sense to the other two.† These quotations then are unhappy; and the candid reader will, I hope, indulge me the liberty of citing some other passages of Holy Writ, and applying the circumstance occasionally mentioned by Niebuhr to the illustration of them.

1. St. Luke speaks of St. Paul's disputing in the market daily with the Athenian philosophers, Acts

* P. 13.

† In his Commentaries.

xvii. 17, 18. In our country the carrying on religious disputations in markets would be thought very improper, and the effect of intemperate zeal; but it would be proper enough in Arabia where people meet in such places for conversation. Probably the salutations in the markets, which the Evangelists tell us the Pharisees loved,* were the applications people in discourse were wont to make to them, in order to decide the matters they were controverting; so the multitude saluted our LORD in this manner, Mark ix. 15. They were extremely afraid of being defiled by being in markets; why then did they not abstain from such places, and transact the business of them by the intervention of others? May we not believe it was for the sake of shining in conversation there, and displaying their learning? Our LORD speaks also of children making use of markets for their puerile diversions, Matt. xi. 16. They were then, it seems, the common places for diversion and amusement, used by old and young: by the aged for conversation,† by the young for piping and dancing.

* Matt. xxiii. 7. Mark xii. 38. Luke xi. 43.

† The supposed scene of the first assembly, or moral discourse, of the excellent Arabian writer *Hariri*, entitled *Senanensis*, seems to have been such an open and public place. It should not then have been represented as it is by the learned Chappelow, in the preface to his translation, as “the subject of a *friendly society* at Sanaa, in Arabia Felix.” It appears from the manner of his withdrawing, p. 7, that the orator was supposed to be unknown, and that it was understood to be an occasional discourse pronounced by a dervish, an Eastern religious beggar, who had gathered a great number of people

2. They held their markets in their gates, it appears, anciently, from what is said 2 Kings vii. 1, 18. where we read that a measure of fine flower was to be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria. It does not appear why the gate should be mentioned, if it was not considered as the public market, where the spoils of the Syrians were to be sold. In their gates then, or in a void space at the entrance of their gates, see 1 Kings xxii. 10. they held their markets and their courts of judicature both ; as afterwards, when their gates were not used for these purposes, the same place that served for the one was made use of for the other, Acts xvi. 19.

People then might sit in the gate anciently for conversation and diversion, as they do now, among the Arabs, in markets and fairs. It seems most natural to interpret Lot's sitting in the gate, Gen. xix. 1. after this manner. Certainly he did not sit there as a magistrate, for had that been his character, they would not have reproached him, though a stranger, with setting up to be a judge, ver. 9. Nor can we imagine he sat there purposely to invite all strangers to his house ; that would have been carrying his hospitality to an excess, it being enough for one in private life to receive such as came in his way : he seems then to have placed himself there for amusement and society.

about him, in some market, or some such open place, preaching to them there the precepts of religion. We meet with accounts in travellers of such public discourses of their religious.

Psa. lxi. 12. may be interpreted either way—*Men of rank and influence in life speak against me ; or, the children of my people, in their leisure hours, when they assemble in the gate for conversation, speak against me, and I am the song of the drunkard.*

If we suppose the Jews were wont to have moral and wise discourses in their gates, as the Arabs are supposed by Hariri to have had in public places, and as the Athenian philosophers are supposed by St. Luke to have held in their markets, Acts xvii. 17, 18. there will appear a much greater energy in those words of Solomon, than is commonly apprehended, Prov. i. 20, 21., *Wisdom crieth without ; she uttereth her voice in the streets : she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the opening of the gates, &c. ; and again, ch. viii. 3., She crieth at the gates, at the entry of the city, &c.* The synagogues were, in later times, the places for Jewish instruction ; but are we sure there were synagogues in the days of Solomon ?

OBSERVATION CXI.

Princes in the East often compared to Lions, Crocodiles, &c.

NOTHING is more common, in the East, than the comparing princes to *lions*, or better known to those that are acquainted with their writings ; but the comparing them to *crocodiles*, if possessed of

naval power, or strong by a watery situation, has hardly ever been mentioned.

D'Herbelot, however, cites* an Eastern poet, who, celebrating the prowess of Gelaleddin, surnamed Mankberni, and Khovarezme Shah, a most valiant Persian prince, said, "He was dreadful as a lion in the field; and not less terrible in the water than a crocodile."

The power of the ancient kings of Egypt seems to be represented after the same manner, by the Prophet Ezek. ch. xxix. 3., *Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon, (the great crocodile,) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.* In his xxxiid chapter, 2d verse, the same Prophet makes use of both the similes, I think, of the panegyrist of Gelaleddin: *Take up a lamentation for Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou art as a whale (a crocodile) in the seas: and thou camest forth with (or from) thy rivers, and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst their rivers.*

It is very odd, in our translators, to render the original word תנים *taneem*, *whale*, and at the same time talk of *feet*; nor indeed are rivers the abode of the whale, its bulk is too great to admit of that: the term *dragon*, which is thrown into the margin, is the preferable version; which word in our language, as the Hebrew word in the original, is, I think, *generic*, and includes the several species

* Bibliothéque Orient. p. 371.

of oviparous quadrupeds, if not those of the serpentine kind.* A crocodile is, without doubt, the creature the Prophet means ; and the comparison seems to point out the power of the Egyptian kings of antiquity ; they were mighty by sea as well as by land.

CONCLUSION,

IN WHICH SOME INFERENCES ARE DRAWN FROM THE
FOREGOING OBSERVATIONS.

From the preceding sheets it appears, 1. How essentially necessary it is, in explaining passages in the Sacred Writings, to pay particular attention to the manners and customs of Asiatic nations. These, we find, from the relations of the most authentic travellers, to be in many respects the same in the present times, which, from the accounts we have in the Scriptures, they were *two*, nay, even *three thousand* years ago !

2. From these accounts we may also perceive the antiquity of the people therein described, and of the writings which they hold sacred : these writings describe a people in their *civil, domestic, and ecclesiastical* relations, with such plain-

* A collation of the several passages of the Old Testament, in which the word translated *dragons* occurs, confirms this description, but will not easily allow us to suppose the *jackall* could ever be meant. See Dr. Shaw, p. 174, note 2.

ness and circumstantial accuracy, as sufficiently demonstrate them not only to be no forgeries of later times, but authentic and invaluable narratives, even considered independently of their Divine inspiration.

3. They shew with what scrupulous exactness the Sacred Writers have introduced accounts of the geographical situation, animal and vegetable productions, and meteorological state of the different countries where the scene of their descriptions and prophecies is laid: which is a presumptive argument of very great force, that those writings were made in those very countries to which they are referred, and by the *natives* of those countries, and not by *strangers*, who could not possibly have preserved such a perfect connection between the places, persons, customs, habits, dress, vegetable and animal productions, state of the atmosphere, &c. of the countries they speak of, had they been natives of *other lands*, or lived in *other times*, than those mentioned in their writings. The most cunning, deep laid, cautious, designing imposture must necessarily have failed in some, if not all, of these respects; but the Sacred Scripture, like what St. Paul says of Charity, *never faileth*; *οὐδεποτε ἐκπίπτει*, *it never falls off*; it mistakes not, but maintains its character throughout. This is a remarkable trait in the Old and New Testaments, which no other writings under the sun can boast.

4. The Reader will readily perceive, that most of the travellers, whose observations have contributed so much to cast light on many obscure pass-

ages in the Holy Scriptures, had themselves no design of the kind, nor did it probably ever enter into their mind, that their remarks could ever be applied to the purposes for which they are cited by Mr. Harmer. This proves that their testimony cannot be suspected of any partiality towards the cause of Divine Revelation; the agreement also of different travellers from different countries, who went over the same ground at different periods, and who could have no connection with each other, serves sufficiently to prove the *truth* of the facts they relate. If, then, so much benefit has been derived from remarks made in the most casual and fortuitous way, what might we not expect from the observations of intelligent travellers who should make it their study to collect incidents and facts purposely to illustrate the Sacred Writings? Every part of the East, (under the eye of a sensible enquirer) would contribute to the elucidation of several remaining obscurities; and collections made after the manner of Dr. Shaw, with the superior advantages which the present cultivated state of Asiatic literature affords, would be highly conducive not only to the interests of *Biblical Criticism*, but to science in general. The Asiatic world is in some sort *sacred ground*—it was the theatre on which God performed His most stupendous works: the place where He first revealed Himself to man. Vestiges of His power, and demonstrations of His truth, remain in many parts of that interesting quarter of the globe. The *Asiatic Society* has opened a new, easy, and pleasant path to the antiquities and literature of the most ancient people

of that part of the universe. Let this institution pay its quota to Divine Revelation ; and let the traveller, who desires to cast his mite into the Divine treasury, carefully examine his Bible, and the scenes passing under his notice :—and, when it can be done, the Asiatic writers may be consulted to great advantage. *Enquire, I pray thee, of the FORMER AGE, and prepare thyself for the search of their FATHERS ; shall not THEY teach thee, and utter out of their HEART ? For we are of yesterday, and know nothing....* Job viii. 8—10. These ancient people, the monuments of their primitive state, and their writings, all bear testimony to the truth of those Divine records that describe their character, predict their revolutions, and define the bounds of their habitations.

Their line is gone out throughout all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Psal. xix. 4.

A very intelligent and learned foreigner, Mr. John F. Usko, who has lately travelled over Greece, the Islands of the Mediterranean, Egypt, Syria, the Holy Land, Plains of Shinar, Deserts of Arabia, Persia, &c. concludes the short narrative of his travels in the following words : “ I must here declare, to the *honour of the Bible*, that I did not find *one* circumstance in the Holy Scriptures contrary to the present manners and customs of the East, or to geography, and the situation of the different places mentioned therein ; but, on the contrary, all is conformable to the different prophecies and descriptions in the Sacred Writings.” —*Brief Narrative, &c.* p. 28, Lond. 1808.

This same gentleman having met with the former edition of Mr. Harmer's work, after a careful and minute perusal, not only felt himself highly gratified with it, but declared to the present editor, that "*Mr. Harmer's Observations* coincided exactly with those he had himself made during his long and extensive travels in the East, and that they were founded on facts the most correct." Such a testimony, from a gentleman so fully qualified to express an opinion on the subject, cannot fail to stamp the preceding sheets with additional importance in the eye of every intelligent and pious Reader.—EDIT.

FINIS.

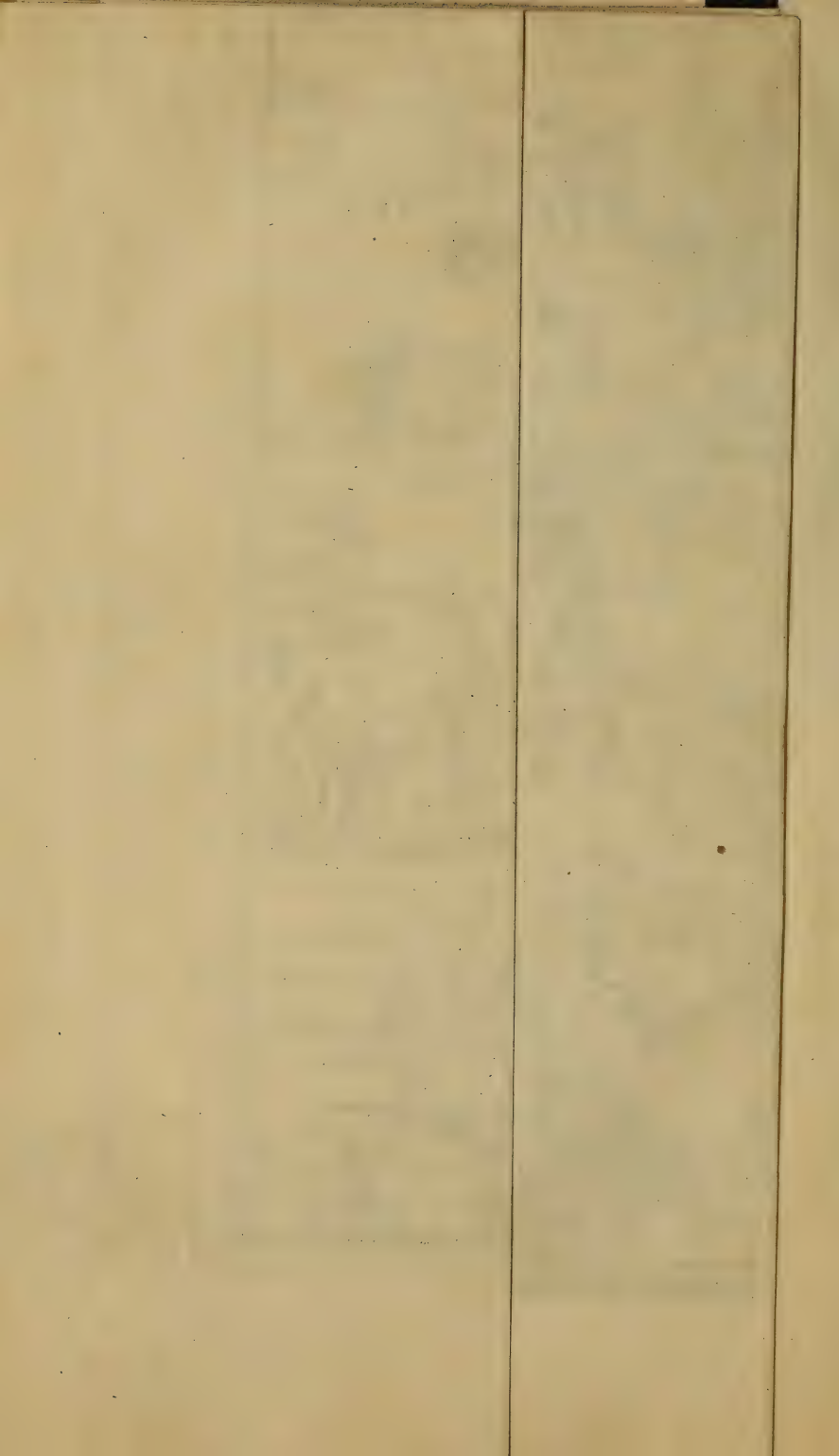


LITHOSTROTUM PENESTINUM

To be placed at the end of Vol. IV



Engraved for Clarke's Edition of Harmer's Observations.



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FINIS.



